



Urbanism in Medieval Europe

Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference
Volume 1

edited by
Guy De Boe & Frans Verhaeghe

I.A.P. Rapporten 1

Zellik
1997

I.A.P. Rapporten

I.A.P. Rapporten

uitgegeven door / edited by

Prof. Dr. Guy De Boe



Urbanism in Medieval Europe

Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference
Volume 1

edited by
Guy De Boe & Frans Verhaeghe

I.A.P. Rapporten 1

Zellik
1997

Een uitgave van het

Published by the

Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium
Institute for the Archaeological Heritage

Wetenschappelijke instelling van de

Scientific Institution of the

Vlaamse Gemeenschap

Departement Leefmilieu en Infrastructuur
Administratie Ruimtelijke Ordening, Huisvesting
en Monumenten en Landschappen

Flemish Community

Department of the Environment and Infrastructure
Administration of Town Planning, Housing
and Monuments and Landscapes

Doornveld

Industrie Asse 3 nr. 11, Bus 30

B -1731 Zellik - Asse

Tel: (02) 463.13.33 (+ 32 2 463 13 33)

Fax: (02) 463.19.51 (+ 32 2 463 19 51)

DTP: Arpuco.

Secr.: M. Lauwaert & S. Van de Voorde.

ISSN 1372-0007

ISBN 90-75230-02-8

D/1997/6024/1

was organized by
werd georganiseerd door
fut organisée par
wurde veranstaltet von

Henri Galinié
Daniele Mannacorda
Hubert De Witte

PREFACE

The present volume consists of a collection of pre-printed papers related to the world of medieval urbanism and towns in Europe. These papers were presented on the occasion of the international conference on medieval and later archaeology MEDIEVAL EUROPE BRUGGE 1997 which took place in Brugge, Belgium, on 1 through 4 October 1997. A number of them was presented and debated during the sessions of section 01, under the general title *Urbanism - Le monde urbain - Die städtische Welt - De wereld van de stad*. However, due to the large offer of papers related to this important theme in medieval and later archaeology, not all the contributions proposed for this section could be presented orally. A selection was made according to a number of topics which the organizers of this section, Henri Galinié (C.N.R.S.) Daniele Mannacorda and Hubert De Witte, deemed to be of more immediate importance within the framework of the debate on the archaeology of the medieval and later urban world. This does not, however, mean that the other proposals were not of interest, far from it. This is why the organizers of the conference and the editors of the present volume felt that they deserved to be included in this volume. In other cases, no written contribution could be made available in time for inclusion in the present volume. All this explains why the general structure and the contents of the present volume do not conform exactly to the programme of the conference. In addition, a number of contributions concerning a particular but no less fundamental aspect of the medieval and later urban world, to wit aspects of the urban infrastructure and spatial organisation related to trade, were discussed within the context of section 03 of the conference, under the general title *Exchange and trade - Echanges et commerce - Warenaustausch und Handel - Uitwisseling en handel*, organized by Hugo Blake, Axel Christophersen and Marc Ryckaert. These contributions have been included in volume 3 of the present series.

The volume on the urban world has been organized keeping in mind both the complexity of the subject and the general lines of the structure of section 01 of the conference. This means that the contributions in the present volume have more or less been grouped according to the following topics:

- The first one mainly concerns the general urbanistic and topographical development of some towns or groups of towns. Most if not all of these contributions generally take the form of more or less general overviews of what is known about a particular town or about urban life in a specific region. They bring together the main results of the archaeological fieldwork – in some cases combined with historical research – in order to assess what the contribution of archaeology consists of and which questions remain open. Frequently, the authors also point out specific problems and occasionally address methodological issues. Most of these contributions touch upon many aspects of the urban world, including spatial organisation, urban public and private infrastructure, plots and buildings, components of material culture, dynamics of evolution, urbanistic developments (in the stricter sense of the word), etc.
- Not surprisingly, the early forms of medieval towns constitute another topic of main interest, considering the emergence of what is generally referred to as the 'medieval' town and the many forms this process took, as well as the dynamics involved.
- A few contributions equally focus on the emergence of the 'medieval' urban world but address the issues involved within a broader and often somewhat more regional framework, paying particular attention to the broader historical, political, social and/or economic context.
- Urban planning and morphology being of major importance in the debate on the evolution of medieval and later towns, two contributions address the subject of morphology and planning on a broader geogra-

phical scale taking into account the methodological issues involved.

- Closely related to spatial organisation and the development of urban planning are a fairly substantial number of contributions presenting specific case-studies where urban plots and buildings play a major part. Quite a few of these papers also pay much attention to the process which has occasionally been called the process of 'petrification' of the urban fabric with the gradual emergence of stone tenements and buildings.

- This leads almost automatically to the subject of particular classes of urban buildings and components, including major public buildings and their spatial and architectural development.

- Finally, a specific phenomenon is discussed by two papers concerning Germany: the deserted towns of medieval origin and their significance.

Within each section, the papers have been ordered according to the broad geographical region concerned, starting with central and eastern Europe, going from there to the Mediterranean world and hence to north-western Europe, the latter area being loosely defined as

the North Sea and Baltic regions including Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

Of necessity, the papers are rather short and the volume of course does not do total justice to the literally hundreds of excavations which have been carried out in European urban settlements over the past few years. Nor does it provide a complete overview of the results attained and knowledge acquired. Nevertheless, with a total of over 35 papers, the present volume offers a good and useful insight into the recent development of the archaeological fieldwork of the medieval and later town and its contribution to our understanding of this urban phenomenon. It also illustrates fairly well some of the main concerns of present-day urban archaeology as well as addressing a few more recent issues such as the role and significance of urban morphology and major public buildings. At any rate, the large offer and the diversity of approaches and questions demonstrate both the vigour and the unique and irreplaceable contribution archaeology continues to make to our understanding of a major component of the medieval and later world.

Frans Verhaeghe & Guy De Boe

M. Bureš, V. Kašpar, L. Špacek & P. Vareka

The 13th century pre-urban settlement complex near the St. Peter's church in Prague

1 Introduction

The intensive archaeological research carried out in the historical core of Prague (approximately 8 square km) over the last 40 years is gradually remapping various aspects of life from the Early Medieval times until the present (for the last summary of the archaeological research on medieval Prague see Jecný *et. al.* 1984). An extensive excavation has been carried out near St. Peter's church on the north-eastern edge of the historic centre of Prague. This contribution focuses on presenting the preliminary results of the excavation. The complex assessment of the research is still in progress. The research project is supported by the Granting Agency of the Czech Republic.

2 Documentary evidence

St. Peter's church is first mentioned in documentary evidence in Duke Sobeslav's Charter for the Prague Germans. This Charter was probably issued in the 1170s and is preserved only in the form of transcripts dating from the 15th century (CDB I, 290, 256-257; Kristen 1922; Kejr 1969). According to paragraph three, Germans settled in "*vici Theutonicorum*" were to confirm their prospective innocence by an oath "*ante ecclesiam Sancti Petri*". This reference has been interpreted by some scholars as meaning that the German settlement was situated in the area next to St. Peter's church. This interpretation is based, however, on indirect evidence and has been often criticised (Mendl 1932; Tomas 1984, 49 - 50).

During the early 13th century the church became the possession of the Order of German Knights who built their order house here (CDB II, 133). This area was subsequently but prior to 1244 acquired by another Knights' order – the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (Kršáková 1983, 13). This order established its new house in 1252 in the Old Town (Staré Mesto) near the bridge. The St. Peter's church with its manor house and settlement remained, however, the possession of the Order for a further 500

years (Kršáková 1983, 13). Documentary evidence provides interesting information concerning a flood which occurred in 1280 and which seriously affected the settlement near to St. Peter's. The flood washed away 12 houses (FRB II, 342).

St. Peter's church is mentioned in 13th-century documentary evidence as a church "*in vico Theutonicorum*" (CDB IV, A1A2, 220; CDB IV, 245, 423) and again in the early 14th century in the Czech form "*v Niemcychs*" (Kršáková 1983, 15). This may represent indirect evidence for the existence of a German settlement in this part of Medieval Prague. However, the place-name "*vicus Theutonicorum*" or "*v Niemcychs*" may also have come into being as a result of the Order House of the German Knights being located in this area. The location of "*vici Theutonicorum*" within the early to high Medieval Prague urban agglomeration therefore requires further research which also includes the comparative analysis of the archaeological evidence of the 13th-century settlement near the St. Peter's church.

3 Archaeological excavation

Extensive rescue excavations near the St. Peter's church have been carried out in several phases as a result of a previously planned modern developing venture (fig. 1b). In the first phase (from 1969 to 1974), a large part of the settlement from the 13th century was discovered to the north and east of the church (e.g. Špacek 1978; 1983; 1984, fig. 1b). The research continued during the years 1988 to 1990 in the northern direction from the church (Bureš - Vareka, in print). The last phase from 1992 onwards focused on the northern edge of the settlement (Bureš, Kašpar & Vareka 1994) and included a survey of the corner building to the west of the church (Kašpar & Vareka 1995). Important information referring to the extent of the settlement and to its relations to the St. Peter's manor (known from written sources) has been provided by the excavation documentation of the engineering network and by smaller excavations under-

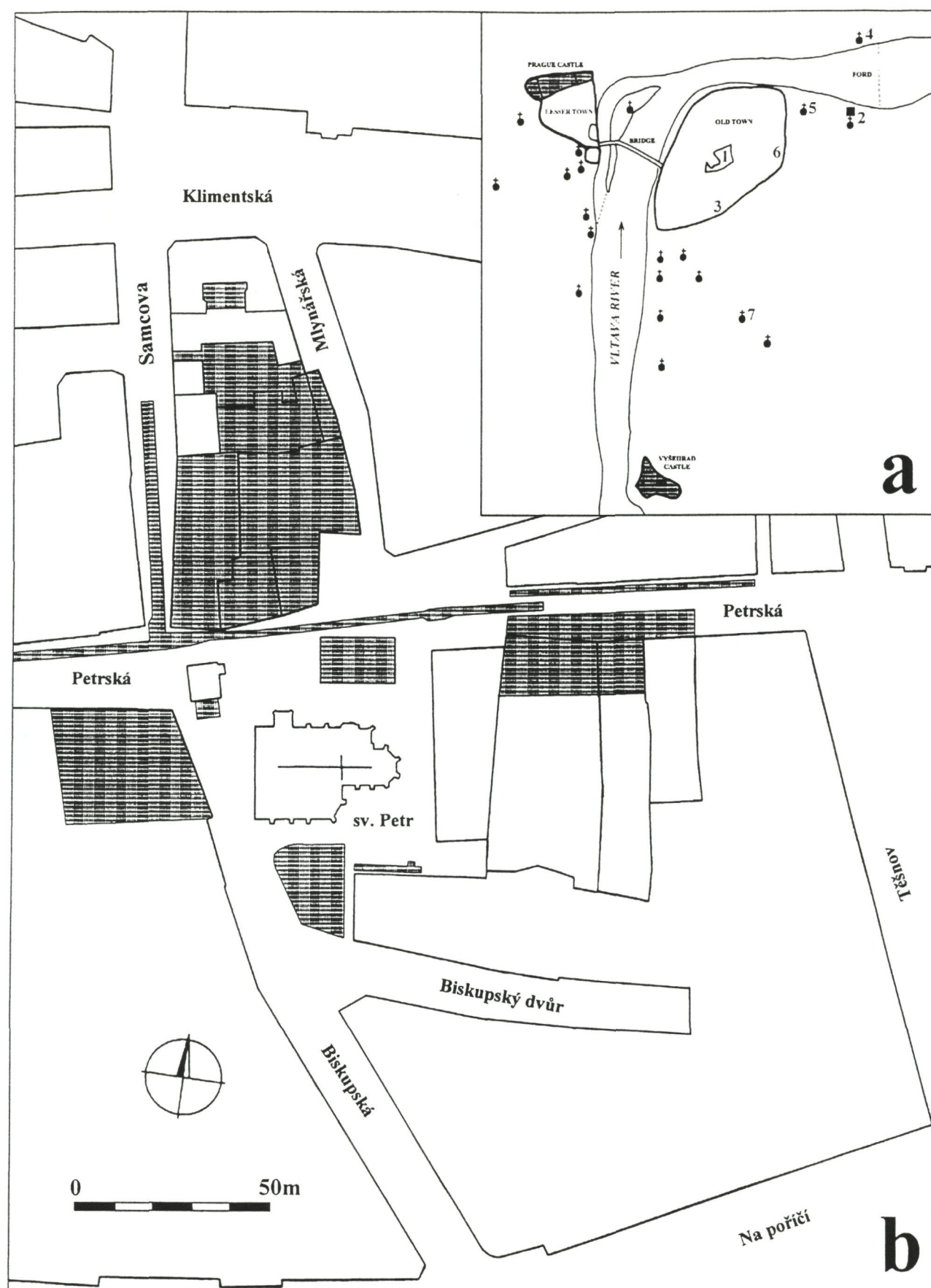


Fig. 1. - a: schematic plan of Prague in the 13th century, 1: Old Town square, 2: St. Peter's church with adjacent settlement, 3: St. Martin, 4: St. Kliment, 5: St. Kliment in Bubny, 6: St. Benedict, 7: St. Longin; b: plan of the site with excavated areas.

taken in Petráská street, Samcova street and Biskupská street (Huml 1989; Špacek 1984; Zavrel, unpublished). On the site of the bishop's manor near the St. Peter's church, evidence for a cemetery and the remains of a stone build-up have been partially identified (Huml 1989).

3.1 Settlement structure

The settlement at the church of St. Peter was found to the north of the actual sacral building. To date, 21 rectangular square structures have been uncovered, all of them with the same orientation but without any evidence for superposition. The features spread out throughout the excavation surface (except in those areas damaged by later activity and mainly by the cellars of post-medieval and modern buildings). The lighter constructions indicated by post holes along with other features and waste fills, are often found surrounding rectangular sunken structures. Archaeological features were identified throughout the excavated area with some more significant concentrations between sunken rectangular features 2 and 3, north and east of feature 2 (fig. 2). Between features 2 and 3, evidence for slight terrain repairs and shale and pebble surfacing (metalling) came to light. The nearest settlement finds are found some 30 to 35 m north and north-west of the church. The most northern features are situated c. 110 m north of the church. The centre of the settlement was without any doubt a basilica with the supposed manor. The entire complex was fortified with a moat, the evidence for which was discovered at the most westerly end of the excavation (the Petráská street area; Špacek 1984, 78). Archaeological evidence has confirmed the existence of the road corresponding to the present Petráská street from the 12th-13th century onwards. The road seems to have separated the church from the settlement, representing also a communication axis of the settlement complex. The northern edge of the settlement is located on the edge of the river terrace labelled stage IVb. From this point, the terrain sloped down to the river's edge (terrace IVa). This section was considered the most northern part of the investigated area. Unfortunately, however, it has not been located to date and is perhaps to be found even more to the north than has been presumed previously. From all this, we conclude that the possible length of the settlement was c. 120-150 m along the N-S axis. Rectangular sunken structures have also been found in the present communication areas adjacent to the excavation area. There is, however, not enough evidence for determining the extent of the settlement along its west-east axis. It is also necessary to mention a watercourse

which ran from the south. Approximately 400 m to the east of the church, it joined the river Vltava. Perhaps there may have existed another tributary, mentioned in a list of damages that occurred to the stone wall of the manor during a flood in the year 1280 (see above). It is possible that the tributary passed through the area west of the church: it may have supplied the settlement with water and it may also separated from the western areas.

3.2 Built environment

The rectangular sunken features represent the only type of 13th-century building which have been found on the site. However, we must consider the possibility that some buildings on the surface left because of the construction techniques used (*e.g.* corner-timbering and timber-framing) and/or of the later medieval or post-medieval development of the site. The sunken buildings roughly had the same orientation (north-south, east-west), reaching 1 to 2 m in depth. These features can be divided into two groups according to their size. Most of them (15) were of a large size reaching 16 to 33 m². Only six smaller buildings have been found and were 5.3 to 8.6 m² in size. Three sunken buildings of the first group had a stone revetment (stone walls bounded with clay), the others contained a number of post-holes set into the floor (level $\pm 0.1-0.4$ m). The only exception is represented by the building 5 excavated in the northern part of the area (fig. 2: 5). Remains of the burnt wooden structures that were found within the house can be interpreted as being of a corner-timbered construction resting on pad stones¹. Several sunken buildings were provided with sunken staircases (fig. 3: 3-4). In some cases they had stone or wooden revetments, in one case a mortar-bounded brick revetment. No apparent heating equipment has been found within the sunken buildings except for the irregularly shaped burnt part of the floor area situated in the middle of building 4 (fig. 2: 4, 3: 4). This burnt area may indicate a provisional hearth of some kind.

This type of building appears to have been an atypical feature of the built environment of the early phases of High Medieval towns in Bohemia and Moravia. When comparing these buildings with early Medieval rural sunken houses containing an oven or hearth situated in a corner², there appears a clear

¹ Two pad stones with apparent incisions may have provided some sort of symbolic-protective meaning connected with the house (perhaps offerings deposited close to the house, as known from other medieval sites in Bohemia, cf. Vareka 1991; 1994).

² These sunken houses (usually 4 by 4 m in size) were built

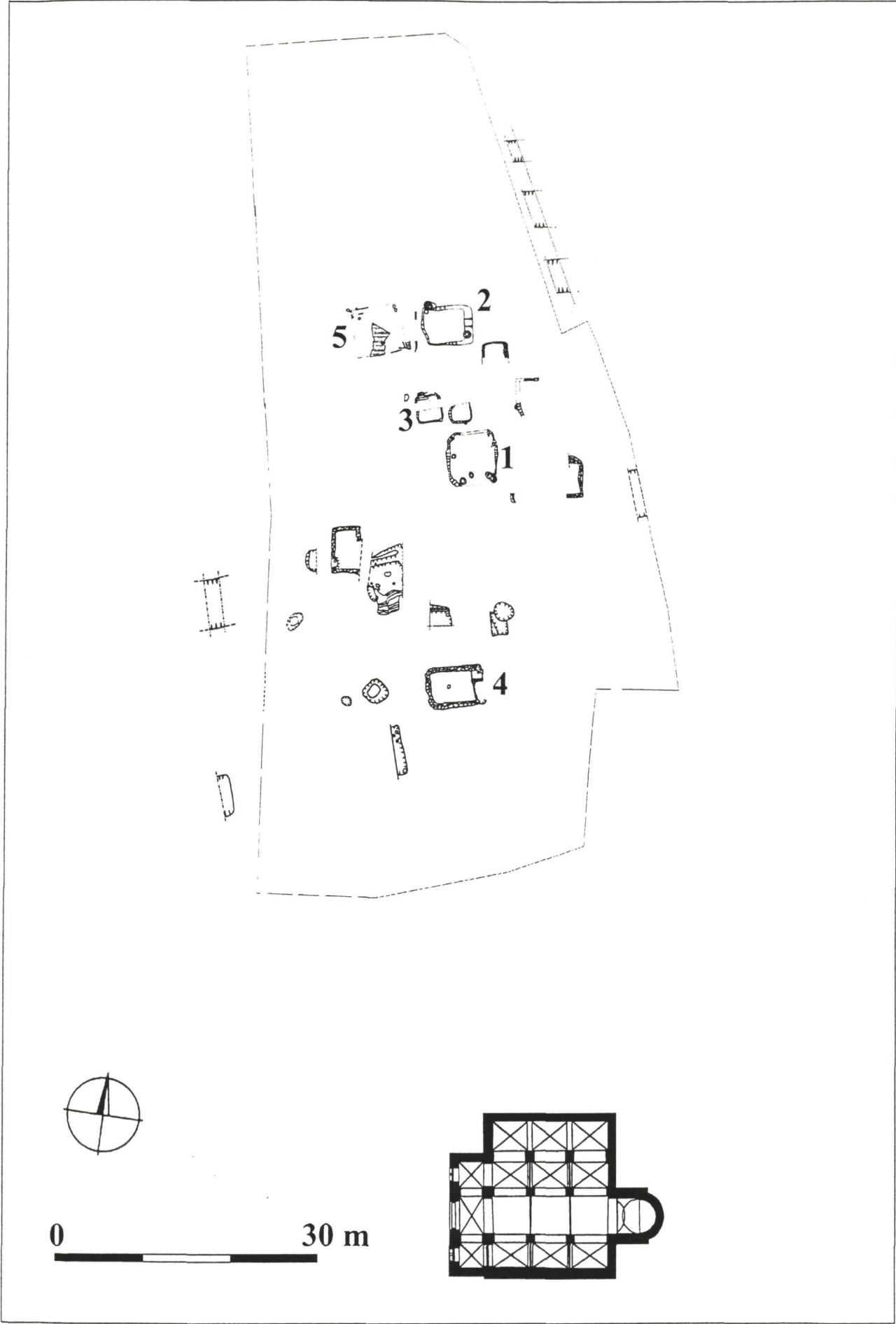
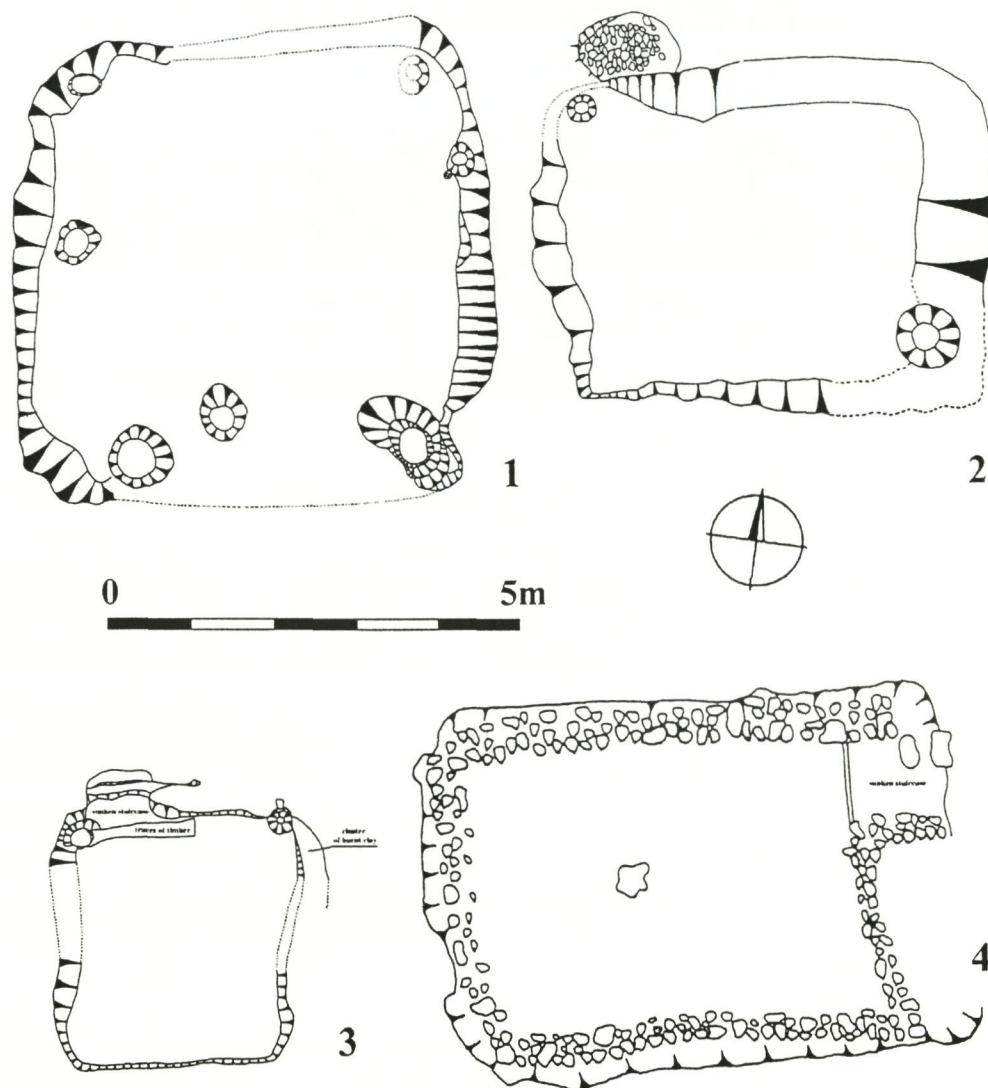


Fig. 2. - The Romanesque basilica of St. Peter and the 13th century settlement with sunken rectangular structures.

Fig. 3. - Sunken rectangular structures (possibly cellars of not preserved buildings on the surface: 1, 2, 4; and sunken building: 3).



difference in size. The first are much larger both in ground plan and depth. They represent an apparently new building tradition connected with the High Medieval transformation which took place in the country during the 13th-early 14th century (e.g. stabilization and nucleation of the settlement pattern and origins of towns). In almost all cases, these buildings have been interpreted as sunken houses used as provisional dwellings during the early phases of newly founded urban sites (e.g. Klápšte & Velímský 1978, 125-126; Klápšte, Richter & Velímský 1996; Michna 1988, 254-258). Traces of hearths and the lack of apparent remains of adjacent surface structures represent the main evidence for this conclusion.

However, other reconstructions can be thought of based on the archaeological data from the site near

the St. Peter's church: those sunken features may represent cellars of houses standing on the surface. The provisional function of sunken buildings in this settlement can be excluded due to their use from the early to the late 13th - and perhaps to the early 14th - century, when the introduction of stone built houses can be seen. Only in one building, remains of a hearth were found but this does not necessarily prove the dwelling function of the sunken feature.³

The interpretation of the sunken buildings features in the settlement near the St. Peter's church is based on the occurrence of the following types of indications: the presence of large post holes and stone walls (remains of strong vertical posts and walls that may have supported large surface constructions of some kind), the lack of any heating equipment in most

within Early Medieval rural settlements in Bohemia and Moravia between the 6th and the 13th centuries (Klápšte & Smetánka 1982; Nekuda 1982).

³ Traces of hearths have been found elsewhere, e.g. in cellars situated underneath the storage rooms of the three-part rural houses in the deserted Later Medieval village of Sarvaly in Hungary (Parádi 1979).

cases, and the considerable depth of the sunken features. These facts indicate that these features probably represent cellars of houses which stood on the surface and are no longer preserved. The smaller sunken buildings however, could also be interpreted as sunken structures such as storage rooms or workshops.

3.3 Production

The archaeological research has shown that there was an extensive amount of production activity in the settlement near the St. Peter's church in the 13th century. The evidence for iron production and iron-working such as iron-smelting kilns, slag and a grinding stone used for ore grinding all belong among the important finds. Similar production centres were discovered in the eastern and north-eastern parts of the Old Town, although these activities ceased in the 12th century (Jecný *et al.* 1984). The evidence for the iron production from the settlement near the St. Peter's church may indicate the possible transfer of this production from the centre of the Prague agglomeration to its periphery. Finds of many furnaces also indicate forging activities. The archaeological evidence also testifies to the intensive processing activity of non-ferrous metals at this site. Besides ovens and furnaces, the excavations also yielded ceramic jars, moulds for bronze casting, trinkets, metal sheet cuttings and also finished products (fig. 4: 6-10, 15). Other finds recovered from the excavation provide evidence for other activities such as bone and leather working. A large number of ceramic and stone spindle-whorls point to weaving and the production of textiles (fig. 4: 1-5). Some features can also be interpreted as baking ovens, thereby providing evidence for food production. Ceramic weights for fishing nets indicate fishing (fig. 4: 11) which obviously constituted an important activity on this river-bank site (as shown by the analysis of the fish bones; see below). At the end of this chapter, implications in terms of trade will be mentioned because of the extensive concentration of local and foreign coins as well as of merchants' weights identified on the site.

3.4 Consumption

The processing of the extensive sets of ceramic finds is still in progress. Currently more than 40 ceramic fabrics have been identified most of which do not represent local wares, but pottery produced abroad or in other parts of Bohemia (*e.g.*, Rhenish stonewares and glazed wares of as yet unidentified origin). In most cases the imported ceramics probably served as

containers for unknown goods, an interpretation similar to one proposed for the graphite pottery of south Bohemian origin known from other sites in Prague (Erneé & Vareka, *in print*).

Results of the current pottery analysis point to a significant trade in goods coming from the eastern and southern parts of Bohemia. A large percentage of the pottery consists the yellowish-white ware decorated with red painting, which appeared in Bohemia during the 13th century (*e.g.* Richter 1982, 126-139). In many cases miniature pots with yellow or brown glaze, also known from other pre-urban sites and early towns in Bohemia have been found (*e.g.*, Most, Klápšte & Velímský 1975; Hradištko & Richter 1982; Decín & Velímský 1991, 1994). The settlement produced the largest set of tiny ceramic figures known from 13th-century Bohemia, which takes us into the world of children's games and perhaps also point to some superstitions, which can only seldomly be detected through other evidence. The figures include horses, horses with riders and various other figures (fig. 5: 4-9, 16-18).

Leisure and entertainment are documented archaeologically by dice and gambling stones made of bone (fig. 5: 1-3). Fragments of ceramic glazed aquamaniles represent unique finds (fig. 5: 15). The high standards of living are documented by two sherds of glass beakers decorated with enamel, the first of Italian (Murano; fig. 5: 14a; Baumgartner & Krüger 1988, 136-137) and the second of Arabic origin (probably Syria; fig. 5: 14b). Other interesting finds include fragments of a vitrail, representing the earliest evidence of its kind found in Bohemia (dated to the early 13th century; Bureš & Vareka, *in print*). Small glass rings represent a specific kind of find known also from other 13th century pre-urban and urban sites in Bohemia. Occasionally these rings are interpreted as trinkets, in other cases they are considered as a substitute means of payment (Radomský 1969).

3.5 Environment and nutrition

Geologically, the investigated site is formed by loose to fluid mica Pleistocene gravel with frequent river boulders. The terrace surface (about 198 m above sea level) gradually slopes towards the Vltava river (down to the elevation of 189 to 191 m above sea level). The gravel surface of the excavated area occurs at a depth of 1.8 to 2.3 m below the contemporary ground level (185.20 - 185.60 m above sea level) and does not appear to be very uneven or to have any significant faults. A Holocene soil with a thickness of 0.6 - 1.0 m developed on top of the geological surface. The latter consist of firm yellow clayey sand at

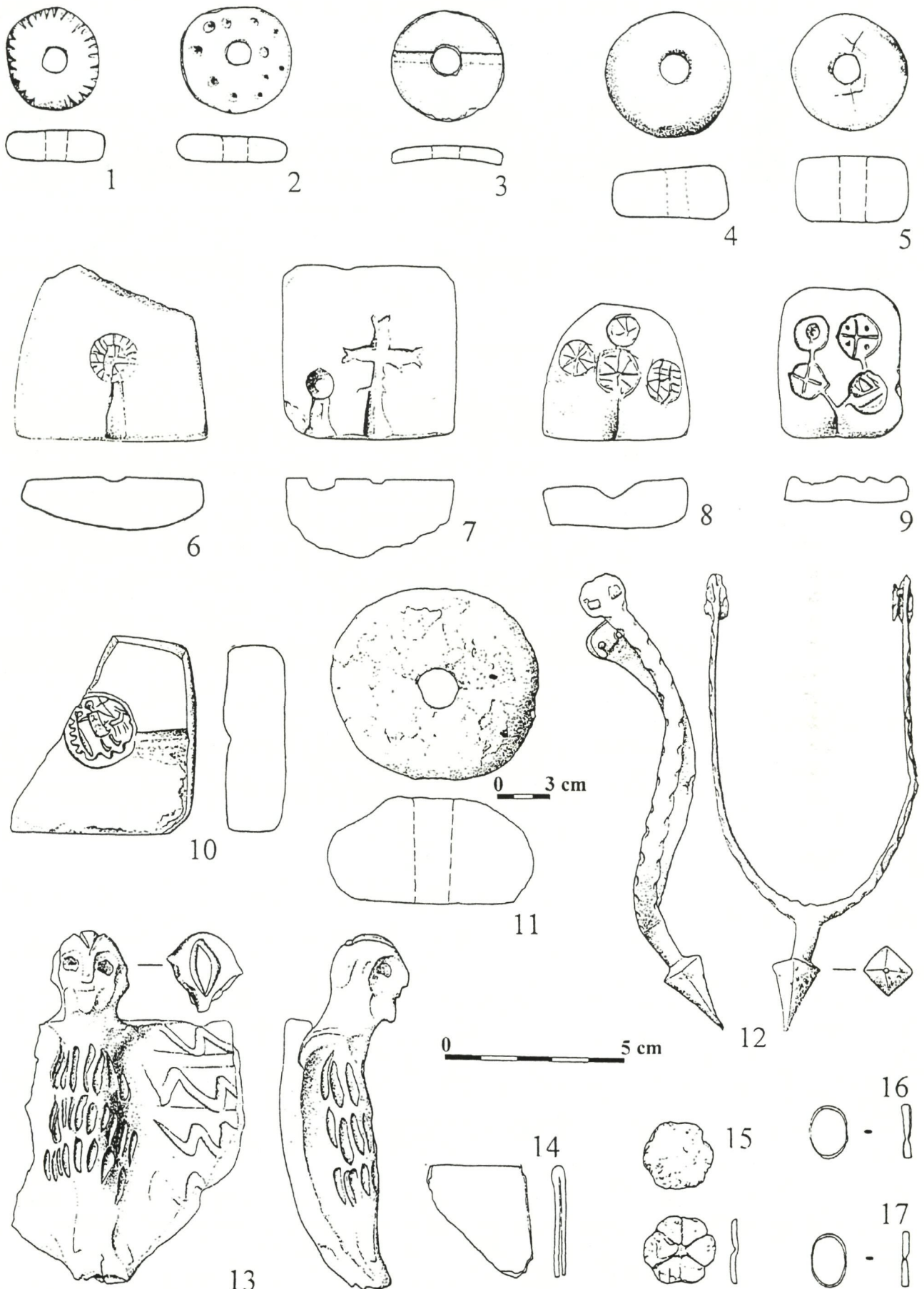


Fig. 4. - The 13th-century finds from the site: 1-5: spindle-whorls (ceramic: 3, stone: 1, 2, 4, 5), 6-11: stone casting moulds, 11: ceramic weights for fishing nets, 12: iron spur, 13: figural decorated pot, 14: fragment of vitrail, 15: bronze trinket, 16-17: bone rings.

its base, gradually turning into dark-brown firm sandy clays (a total of five layers could be distinguished).

During the last phase of the excavation (1992 - 1993), soil samples for palaeo-environmental analysis were taken and random samples of a large amount of animal bones from all phases of the excavation was assessed (Beech 1994). The majority of the palaeo-environmental remains represent food refuse and organic waste from the settlement. Soil samples were processed on site using a wash-over flotation system. Both floats and residues were sorted and analyzed.

Cereals such as wheat, barley and millet were found in small quantities. Some samples contained remains of fruits which could be identified as blackberries, raspberries, apples, pears and elder. Carbonized nut remains are represented only by hazelnut. Fruits and nuts were probably gathered from areas adjacent to the settlement. They were used for trading as well as for household consumption.

The most commonly represented animal was cattle, followed by sheep or goat and pig (Beech 1994). Horse, brown hare, domestic fowl and domestic goose are represented in small quantities in the sample. Red deer is represented only by a single fragment. Many of the bones also show apparent traces of burning on the surface, perhaps resulting from cooking and/or post-discard processes. The bones were generally very fragmentary. This fragmentation was to some extent caused by the butchering practices.

A substantial quantity of fish bones was recognized in the soil samples. Among them, trout and pike were identified and seem fairly well represented. The presence of dental and skull elements of fish, as well as fish scales, may suggest that the fishes were prepared locally for eating.

Most probably, the inhabitants of the site were mainly consumers. Cattle and sheep were probably used both for their milk and hide/wool, as well as for their meat. Pigs were slaughtered at a young age, most of them being young males. The presence of bones of newborn pigs and sheep within the assemblage suggests that these animals were reared within the settlement area. Fish have been clearly obtained from the Vltava river or one of its local tributaries providing an important additional source of food for the inhabitants of the settlement.

4 The settlement near the St. Peter's church within the Prague urban agglomeration development

The Prague settlement agglomeration was formed in the 9th century as a suburb of the Prague Castle and later became the suburb of the Vyšehrad castle founded in the 10th century (fig. 1a; Jecný *et. al.*

1984). The intensive settlement on the left bank of the river below the Prague castle gradually spread to the right bank, in particular along the road which linked both castles and where a large market was established. The archaeological investigations have demonstrated that the centre of the right bank settlement occupied the southern part of the right bank area. In an additional phase of the Prague urban agglomeration development later in the 12th century, the core of the settlement (as well as the market), moved to the area of the current Old Town (the later Medieval-Modern Old Town Square; fig. 1a: 1). Archaeological research has proven the significant role of the geomorphological context during the settlement of the right bank of the Vltava river. This settlement proceeded from the lower to the third level of the terrace (last: Hrdlicka 1996, 163-167). The archaeological research has produced evidence for intensive settlement in nearly the whole area of the later Old Town in the early 13th century. The formation of the High Medieval town can be seen in this period through assessing the following factors belonging to this period: stabilisation of the whole settlement structure, particularly house-plots, and the establishment of communal areas as well as cemeteries surrounded by stone walls (Jecný *et. al.* 1984, 243). During this phase, the oldest monasteries were also established in this area including Dominicans, Minors, German Knights and Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (the only knight order which originated in Bohemia).

Around the core of the right bank settlement agglomeration, there were a number of settlement areas with Romanesque churches at their centres, and some of these became part of the High Medieval Old Town, *e.g.* St. Martin (fig. 1a: 3; Dragoun 1979), St. Longin (fig. 1a: 7), St. Benedict (fig. 1a: 6; Jecný & Olmerová 1992) and St. Kliment (fig. 1a: 4; Huml 1977). The site near the St. Peter's church represented a part of this scattered settlement located close to the Bubny-ford where a significant junction of the long distance roads to the west, north and east existed (fig. 1a: 2; Jecný 1986, 52; 1987, 27). The St. Kliment church of Early Medieval origin is situated on the other side of the ford indicating another settlement area (fig. 1a: 4, Huml 1981).

The importance of the settlement is highlighted by the triple nave basilica of the St. Peter's church built after the middle of the 12th century. Apart from the church in Tismice, this was the only non-monastic Romanesque basilica in Bohemia and in both cases, they hypothetically may have been founded by a sovereign (Merhautová 1971, 259-260, 341-343). We can expect to find a manor estate near the church, as was indicated by written evidence from the 13th



Fig. 5. - The 13th-century finds from the site: 1-3: bone die and gambling stones, 4-9: miniature glazed ceramic horses, 10-13: glass rings, 14a-14b: fragments of enamel-decorated glass vessels, 15: fragment of glazed ceramic aquamanile, 16-18: glazed ceramic figures.

century (Kršáková 1983, 11-12; Lorenc 1973, 35-37). The moat around the manor has already been identified by an archaeological survey (Špacek 1984, 78).

The settlement by the St. Peter's church formed part of the Prague pre-urban agglomeration until the construction of fortifications (1230-1249; Dragoun 1987) which limited the extent of the Old Town established in the early 13th century. The archaeological evidence illustrates the transformation of the built environment in the early 14th century (particularly the introduction of stone houses), when the later Medieval suburb emanated from the settlement near the St. Peter's church and was included in the foundation of the New Town in 1348.

Documentary evidence and references

- CDB: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae* I, G. FRIEDRICH (ed.), Praeae, 1907; II, G. FRIEDRICH (ed.), Praeae, 1912; IV/1, J. ŠEBÁNEK & S. DUŠKOVÁ (eds.), Praeae, 1962.
- FRB: *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* II, J. EMLER (ed.), Praeae, 1912.
- BAUMGARTNER E. & KRÜGER I. 1988: *Phoenix aus Sand und Asche: Glass des Mittelalters*, München.
- BEECH M. 1994: The medieval settlement near to St. Peter's church - environment and economy, in: J. FRIDRICH, J. KLÁPŠTE & P. VAREKA (eds.), *Mediaevalia Archaeologica Bohemica 1993*, Památky archeologické - Supplementum 2, 215-218.
- BUREŠ M., KAŠPAR V. & VAREKA P. 1994: Preliminary Report on the 1992-1993 Excavation at the Medieval Site near to St Peter's church, Prague, in: J. FRIDRICH, J. KLÁPŠT & P. VAREKA (eds.), *Mediaevalia Archaeologica Bohemica 1993*, Památky archeologické - Supplementum 2, 205-214.
- BUREŠ M. & VAREKA P. in print: *Nové nálezy stredovekého umeleckého remesla od sv. Petra na Poríci*, *Archaeologia Pragensia* 13.
- DRAGOUN Z. 1979: Záchranný výzkum v kostele sv. Martina ve zdi na Starém Meste prazském - Die Notgrabungen in der Kirche St.-Martin im Gemauer (Prager Altstadt), *Archaeologia historica* 4, 33-43.
- DRAGOUN Z. 1987: Stav a perspektivy poznání staroměstského opevnění - Stand und perspektiven der Erforschung der alt-stadter Befestigungsanlagen, *Staletá Praha* 17, 39-70.
- ERNÉE M. & VAREKA, P. in print: Die Graphittonkeramik des 13. Jahrhunderts in Südböhmen und Prag, *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulcice* IV.
- HRDLICKA L. 1996: K procesu osídlování staroměstských teras (Výzkum v cp. 432/I) - Zur Besiedlung der Altstädter Terrassen (Ausgrabung in NC 432/I), *Archaeologica Pragensia* 12, 163-183.
- HUML V. 1977: Výzkum v kostele sv. Klimenta na Novém Meste prazském - Die Ausgrabung in der St. Clemenskirche in der Prager Neustadt im Jahre 1975 (Vorbericht), *Archeologické rozhledy* 29, 406-416.
- HUML V. 1981: K osídlení Vltavského brehu Starého a Nového Mesta prazského ve 12. a 13. století - Zur Besiedlung des Moldaufers der Prager Alt- und Neustadt im 12.-13. Jahrhundert, *Prazský sborník historický* 14, 50-64.
- HUML V. 1989: Archeologický výzkum zástavby bývalého Biskupského dvora u sv. Petra na Poríci (Praha 1 - Nové Mesto) - Die archäologische Untersuchung der Bebauung des ehemaligen Bischofshofs bei der Peterskirche in der Strasse Na Poríci (Prag 1 - Neustadt), *Archaeologica Pragensia* 10, 205-258.
- JECNÝ H. 1986: Pocátky prazských tržišť - Die Anfänge der Prager Marktplätze, *Staletá Praha* 16, 51-61.
- JECNÝ H. 1987: Obranné systémy Prahy v raném stredoveku - Verteidigungssysteme Prags im frühen Mittelalter, *Staletá Praha* 17, 21-37.
- JECNÝ H., CÍHÁKOVÁ J., KRŠÁKOVÁ S., OLMEROVÁ H., STEHLÍKOVÁ D., ŠPACEK L. & TRYML M. 1984: Praha v raném stredoveku (Jeden ze soucasných pohledu na vývoj premyslovského mesta) - Prag im Frühmittelalter (Eine der gegenwärtigen Betrachtungsweisen der Entwicklung der Premyslidenstadt), *Archaeologica Pragensia* 5/2, 211-288.
- JECNÝ H. & OLMEROVÁ H. 1992: Historie a promeny jednoho bloku pri hradbách Starého Mesta prazského - Historie und Veränderungen eine Block bei den Schancen der Prager Altstadt, *Staletá Praha* 22, 21-70.
- KAŠPAR V. & VAREKA P. 1995: Záchranný archeologický výzkum v Petrské ulici cp. 1136/II v Praze 1 - Die archäologische Rettungsausgrabung in der Gasse Petrská ulice NC 1136/II in Prag 1, *Archeologické rozhledy* 47, 657-675.
- KEJR J. 1969: K privilegiu knízete Sobeslava II. pro prazské Nemce, *Právněhistorické studie* 15, 241-257.
- KLÁPŠTE J., RICHTER M. & VELÍMSKÝ T. 1996: Hausbau früher Lokationsstädte in Böhmen, In: H. BRACHMANN & J. KLÁPŠTE (eds.), *Hausbau und Raumstruktur früher Städte in Ostmitteleuropa*, Památky archeologické - Supplementum 6, 148-165.
- KLÁPŠTE J. & SMETÁNKA Z. 1982: Archeologický výzkum české stredoveké vesnice v letech 1971-1981 - Archäologische Untersuchungen mittelalterlicher Dörfer Böhmens in den Jahren 1971-

- 1981, *Archaeologia historica* 7, 11-31.
- KLÁPŠTE J. & VELÍMSKÝ T. 1975: Příspěvek ke studiu počátku města Mostu - Ein Beitrag zum Studium der Anfänge der Stadt Most, *Archeologické rozhledy* 27, 651 - 672.
- KLÁPŠTE J. 1978: Mostecké zemnice 13. století (zpráva o stavu výzkumu) - Grubenhäuser von Most aus dem 13. Jahrhundert (Bericht über den Grabungsstand), *Archaeologia historica* 3, 121-130.
- KRISTEN Z. 1922: Privilegium Nemcu prazských - Privileg der Prager Deutsche, *Ceský časopis historický* 28, 165-175.
- KRŠÁKOVÁ S. 1983: Z dějin svatopetrské osady, *Zpravodaj dobrovolných aktivů státní památkové péče a ochrany přírody* 20, 10-16.
- LORENC V. 1973: *Nové Město pražské - The New Town of Prague*, Praha.
- MENDL B. 1932: "Vici Theutonicorum" a "civitas circa S. Gallum", *Ceský časopis historický* 38, 237-259.
- MERHAUTOVÁ A. 1971: *Rané středověká architektura v Čechách*, Praha.
- MICHNA, P. J. 1988: K poznání zahloubených obydlí doby velké kolonizace - Zur Kenntnis der mittelalterlichen Behausung in der Zeit der Grossen Kolonization, in: *Rodná zeme*, Brno, 222-284.
- NEKUDA V. 1982: Středověká vesnice na Moravě ve světle archeologických výzkumů zaniklých osad - Das mittelalterliche Dorf in Mähren, *Archaeologia historica* 7, 33-66.
- PARÁDI N. 1979: Die Keller und Öfen der mittelalterlichen Ortschaft Sarvaly, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 106, 65-76.
- RADOMERSKÝ P. 1969: Příspěvek k otázce primitivních platidel 13. století, *Sborník II. numismatického symposia*, Brno, 106-119.
- RICHTER M. 1982: *Hradiště u Davle - městečko ostrovského kláštera - Hradiště bei Davle - ein Kleinstadt des Ostrover Klosters*, Praha.
- ŠPÁČEK L. 1978: Prognóza dalšího výzkumu Petřské čtvrti (osada u sv. Petra na Porčí ve světle dosavadních poznatků) - Prognose der weiteren Grabung im Siedlungsviertel von St. Peter in Prag - Porčí im Lichte der bisherigen Erkenntnisse, *Archaeologia historica* 3, 387-391.
- ŠPÁČEK L. 1983: Archeologický výzkum Petřské čtvrti, *Zpravodaj dobrovolných aktivů státní památkové péče a ochrany přírody* 20, 1-9.
- ŠPÁČEK L. 1984: Výzkum v Petřské ulici (Příspěvek k datování středověké hmotné kultury) - Die Ausgrabung in der Gasse Petřská (Ein Beitrag zur Datierung der mittelalterlichen materiellen Kultur), *Archaeologica Pragensia* 5, 71-80.
- TOMAS J. 1984: Problematika studia dějin Prahy v období raného feudalismu - vývoj pražské rané feudální městské aglomerace - Die Problematik des Studiums der Geschichte Prags in der Epoche des Frühfeudalismus - Die Entwicklung der Prager frühfeudalen städtischen Agglomeration, *Archaeologica Pragensia* 5/1, 35-56.
- VAREKA P. 1991: Stavební obětiny z české a moravské středověké vesnice - Die Bauopfer des böhmischen und mährischen mittelalterlichen Dorfes in den archäologischen Quellen, *Ceský lid* 78, 117-119.
- VAREKA P. 1994: Customs and rites connected with the building process of a rural house and its importance for the study of archaic notions about space and landscape, in: J. FRIDRICH, J. KLÁPŠTE & P. VAREKA (ed.), *Mediaevalia Archaeologica Bohemica 1993*, Památky archeologické - Supplementum 2, 139-144.
- VELÍMSKÝ T. 1991: *Město na louce. Archeologický výzkum na Mariánské louce v Decíně 1984-1989 - Stadt auf der Wiese, Decín*.
- VELÍMSKÝ T. 1994: Drobná keramická plastika ze zaniklého středověkého města v Decíně - Keramische Kleinplastik aus dem Untergegangener mittelalterlichen Stadt Decín, *Sborník Společnosti přátel starozitností* 3, 97-104.

M. Bureš, V. Kašpar, L. Špáček & P. Vareka
 Archaia
 Pod Dekankou 19,
 147 00 Praha 4
 Czech Republic

Change or continuity. The origins of the late medieval town of Kolobrzeg in Pomerania

Introduction

For some decades the Polish archaeology has devoted a lot of attention to the question of the urbanisation of the southern coasts of the Baltic Sea. The debate has very much focused on the problems of emergence, origins and early development of Slavonic early medieval urban settlements in Pomerania (e.g. Leciejewicz 1962, 1969, 1991; Losinski 1994). The last fifteen years have also seen a considerable interest in the charter towns founded mostly in the 13th century under the German Law and in their development in the late Middle Ages and post-medieval times. Large-scale extensive excavations of Hanseatic towns situated on the coast, like Elblag, Gdansk, Kolobrzeg and Szczecin, have produced a great number of interesting data (e.g. Czacharowski & Nawroński 1992; Nawroński 1993; Rebkowski 1989, 1996; Cnotliwy 1996). The fieldwork yielded result of particular interest to our understanding of the origins of late medieval towns founded in the 13th century on the basis of German Law and their relations to the older settlements and centres of an urban nature. These may be regarded in terms of continuation or discontinuation where their spatial, functional and cultural development and transformations are concerned.

The town of Kolobrzeg located immediately on the coast provides a very good example for investigating the processes of change affecting urban life along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea in the 13th century. At the beginning of this century Kolobrzeg belonged to the Slavonic Duchy of West Pomerania which had been divided into two provinces since c. 1160. The Kolobrzeg castellany – the easternmost part of the Duchy – was the common property of two offshoots of the dynasty which had been ruling the country for a few generations. In 1248, the bishop of Kamien possessed half of the castellany. In the years 1276-1277, the bishopric bought a second part of the land and from then onwards the bishop became the sole owner of the castellany (Riemann 1924, 27-29; Slaski 1969, 130-132).

The early town in the 12th and 13th century

The origins of the settlements of an urban nature in Kolobrzeg go back to the 9th century (Leciejewicz 1960, 1962). At the beginning of the 12th century, Kolobrzeg was the main centre of the emergence of Slavonic statehood in West Pomerania. Equally in the early 12th century though not before the 1120s, the principal abode of the duke was moved to Kamien (Leciejewicz 1960, 381; Spors 1981, 214). In the late 12th and first half of the 13th century, at the threshold of the emerging changes, Kolobrzeg still was an important economic and administrative centre. The settlement structure then included a few elements fulfilling different functions (fig. 1).

The stronghold (Polish – *gród*) originated already in the mid-9th century. It was situated four kilometres south of the river estuary to the sea, at the foot of moraine hills which rise more than 20 to 25 m. above sea-level. The site was surrounded with a wood-and-earth rampart and was the abode of castellans, *i.e.* administrative officials representing the duke. North and south of the stronghold, densely populated suburbs flanked the site (Polish – *podgródzie*) which also had a harbour. In the northern suburb the church of St. Mary was built by the 20s of the 12th century. Before 1219, the church became a collegiate and the seat of a chapter was located nearby. Two other churches were founded as well: St. Peter inside the stronghold and St. John at the northern outskirts of the settlement complex. Since the first half of the 12th century the written sources have mentioned various institutions of economic activity situated within the suburbs: one or two public houses (Latin – *tabernae*), a market-place, a tariff and the mint named since 1229 (Leciejewicz 1960).

The archaeological excavations carried out in the 1950s have yielded data pointing to various kinds of craft activities which were already established by the 9th and 10th century (smithing, gold-smithing, antler and amber handicraft, etc.) (Leciejewicz 1962; Leciejewicz *et al.* 1961). However, the main centre of craft activity and production centre was situated about 3

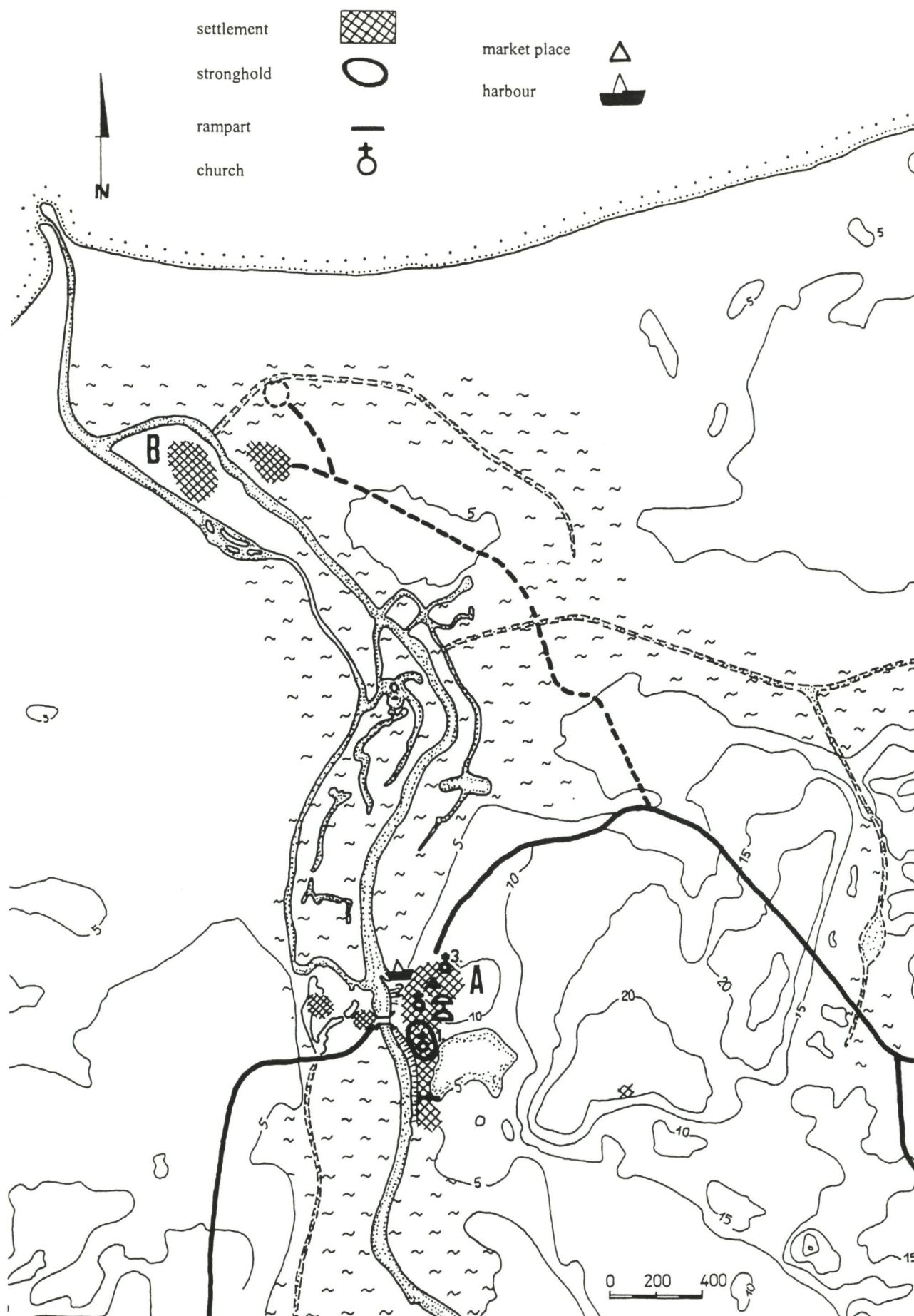


Fig. 1. - Kolobrzeg in the 1st half of the 13th century. Spatial arrangement of settlements.
 A. stronghold and suburbs; B. centre of salt production; 1: St Peter; 2: St Mary's collegiate; 3: St John.

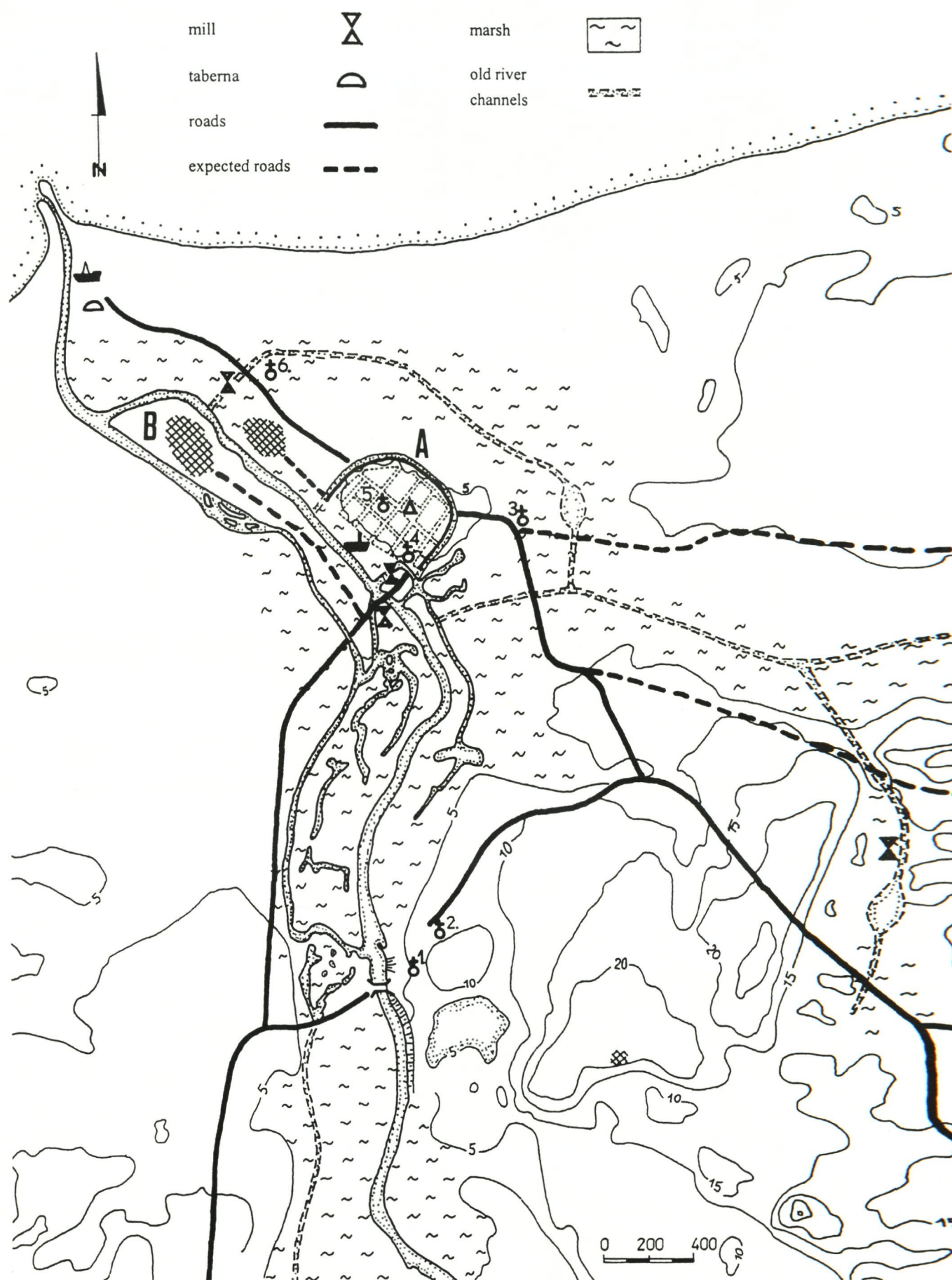


Fig. 2. - Kolobrzeg in the last quarter of the 13th century. Spatial arrangement of settlements
 A. location town; B. centre of salt production. 1: St Mary and the cloister of Benedictine nuns; 2: St John; 3: St George; 4: St Spiritus; 5: St Mary's collegiate; 6: St Nicholas. Legend: see fig. 1.

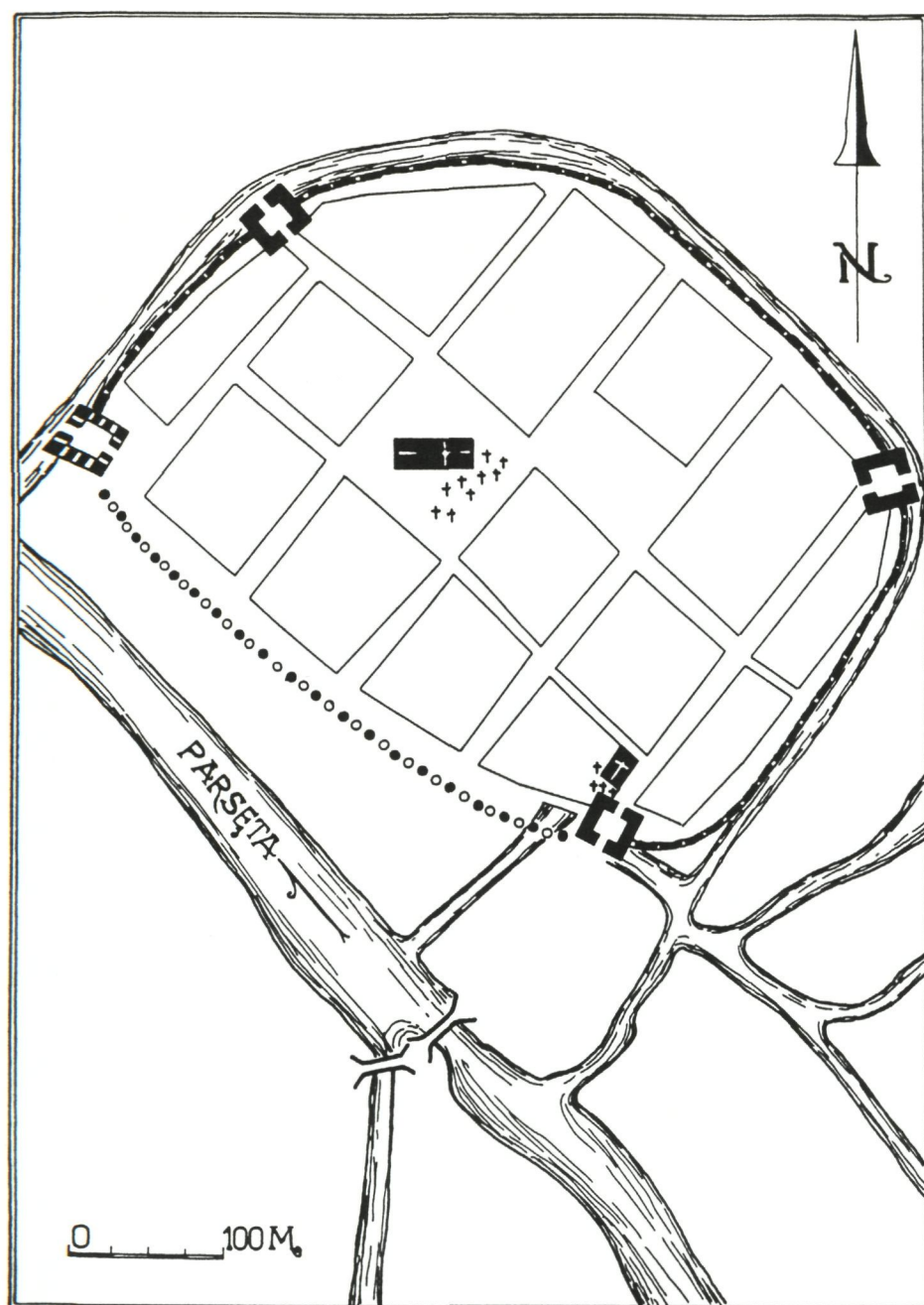








Fig. 3. - A reconstruction of plan of the town in 3rd quarter of the 13th century.

1: St Nicholas; 2: St Spiritus.

-  gate
-  expected gate
-  church
-  cemetery
-  expected rampart
-  range of building structures

km north of the stronghold, in the area of the so-called Salt Island. The presence of natural sources of salt water created suitable conditions for the production of salt production, an activity which may already started in the 7th-8th century (Leciejewicz 1960, 346; Losinski *et al.* 1971, 86). This important commodity was produced there using the evaporation technique and the production would continue throughout the Middle Ages until well into post-medieval times.

In the first half of the 13th century the whole settlement complex still was a centre of political power, administration and jurisdiction (as reflected by the stronghold and the presence of castellans). There was also a concentration of various other activities: production (crafts and salt production), ex-

change and distribution (market-place, *tabernae*, tariffs) as well as religious activities (collegiate church and a chapter). The complex included the basic, structural elements of a central place and fulfilled all central functions for the neighbouring area. As such, it may be regarded as an early type of urban settlement existing within the limits of Ducal Law (Piskorski 1987, 35-37; Mozdioch 1994, 133, 142).

The new town – new ideas in a Slavonic environment

Meanwhile, a measure of economic regression had probably struck Western Pomerania. The results of recent excavations in Szczecin suggest that in some

centres symptoms of a crisis may well be reflected in the archaeological evidence (Losinski 1993, 312; Cnotliwy 1996, 22-24). Unfortunately, the limited range of excavations does not yet allow us to recognise this phenomenon in Kolobrzeg. At any rate, the result of the regression was that in the 30s of the 13th century, a process of comprehensive economic and social changes began in Pomerania. This process was expressed mainly through the founding of new towns on the basis of German Law (Piskorski 1987, 49-72).

In 1255, the owners of the Kolobrzeg castellany, duke Warcislaw and Herman, bishop of Kamien, signed a charter, which states that '*... nos civitatem nostram Colberg teutonicis iure lubecensi quinque annis liberam donavimus possidendam ...*' (PUB II, No 606). The new town was not located on the site of the former centre but half way between the stronghold and the seashore, on a low moraine hillock surrounded by a marshy area resulting from an extensive overflow along the right bank of the river. In the 13th century, the terrain was significantly lower than it is now and rose no more than 4 to 5 m above the highest sea-level (fig. 2). To the west, the site adjoined a little overflow terrace of the river (Hoffa 1968). In terms of geographical conditions, this was the only possible place to settle within the area near to the river's estuary to the sea. Because of the very limited number of written sources, the large-scale campaign of rescue excavations carried out here since 1986 and still in progress is absolutely essential to document and understand the emergence and early development of the town (Rebkowski 1989, 1996).

A hypothesis formulated by some historians suggested that the site had already been occupied in the first half of the 13th century either by Slavs or by German settlers (Spors 1991). This hypothesis cannot yet be confirmed by the archaeological evidence. The results of the excavations bring us at the point when new settlers started to occupy the site, *i.e.* not before the middle of the 13th century. It may therefore be suggested that the legal and spatial locations of the town took place almost at the same time (Rebkowski 1995, 75). The first newcomers could settle the place either soon after 1248 when the bishop of Kamien became the owner of part of the castellany of Kolobrzeg or after 1251 when Herman von Gleichen began to administer the diocese (Riemann 1924, 27-28). Dendrodates obtained from the oldest wooden structures in different parts of the town bring us very near to those events and are concentrated between the 50s and 80s of the 13th century.

The foundation of the town brought the new ideas of law, economy, technology, and also led to revolutionary changes in terms of urban organisation and planning which copied the patterns developed in

Western Europe. The archaeological and documentary sources as well as the analysis of the 17th-century town plans indicate that at least until the 30s of the 14th century the built area of the town did not extend over a marsh zone along the overflow terrace of the river (Riemann 1924, 44-45; Göbel 1927, 9). Therefore, the early town must have been somewhat smaller than it was at the end of the Middle Ages when a brick-built defence-wall encompassed the urban space. The brick-built town-walls are not mentioned by the written sources before 1350 but by the end of the 15th century, the whole urban area had been enclosed. Originally, in the 13th and early 14th century, a wood-and-earth rampart with 3 or 4 gates protected the town on three sides (fig. 3). The names of the gates are mentioned in the oldest part of the Town Book and in other documents.

The internal division of the urban space into blocks and streets was already in place when the town was created. It is assumed that the basic street pattern never changed. One of the excavated sites does show that the limits of one of the blocks moved over a very small distance but this does not alter our current picture of the constancy of the pattern. Another problem, however, is that of the original shape of the market-place. There is no serious reason to reject the possibility that the rectangular shape of the market-place has been in place and remained unchanged since the 13th century but in theory this function may originally have been fulfilled by part of the broad street. It is worth noting that according to information provided by the written sources the Town Hall appeared in the market-place in the second half of the 14th century at the earliest. The earlier site of the Town Hall is identified by some historians in the western part of the town (Riemann 1924, 50, 55-56). Unfortunately, neither this site nor the area of the market-place have yet been the subject of archaeological fieldwork.

Between 1262 and 1276, the chapter was moved from the old centre to the town and located in one of the central blocks. At that time, the building of the new collegiate church of St. Mary's must have started. According to the documentary evidence, however, the church of St. Nicholas' was supposedly located on the same site, a situation which existed around the middle of the 13th century, *i.e.* before the creation of St. Mary's. The excavations of the churchyard have shown the orientation of the oldest, single level of graves to be slightly different from that of the graves linked with the collegiate church St. Mary's. The earlier phase of the graveyard was presumably related to the St. Nicholas church which apparently fulfilled the church functions of the earliest community of German settlers. In 1276, however, the document of bishop Herman already mentioned the church of

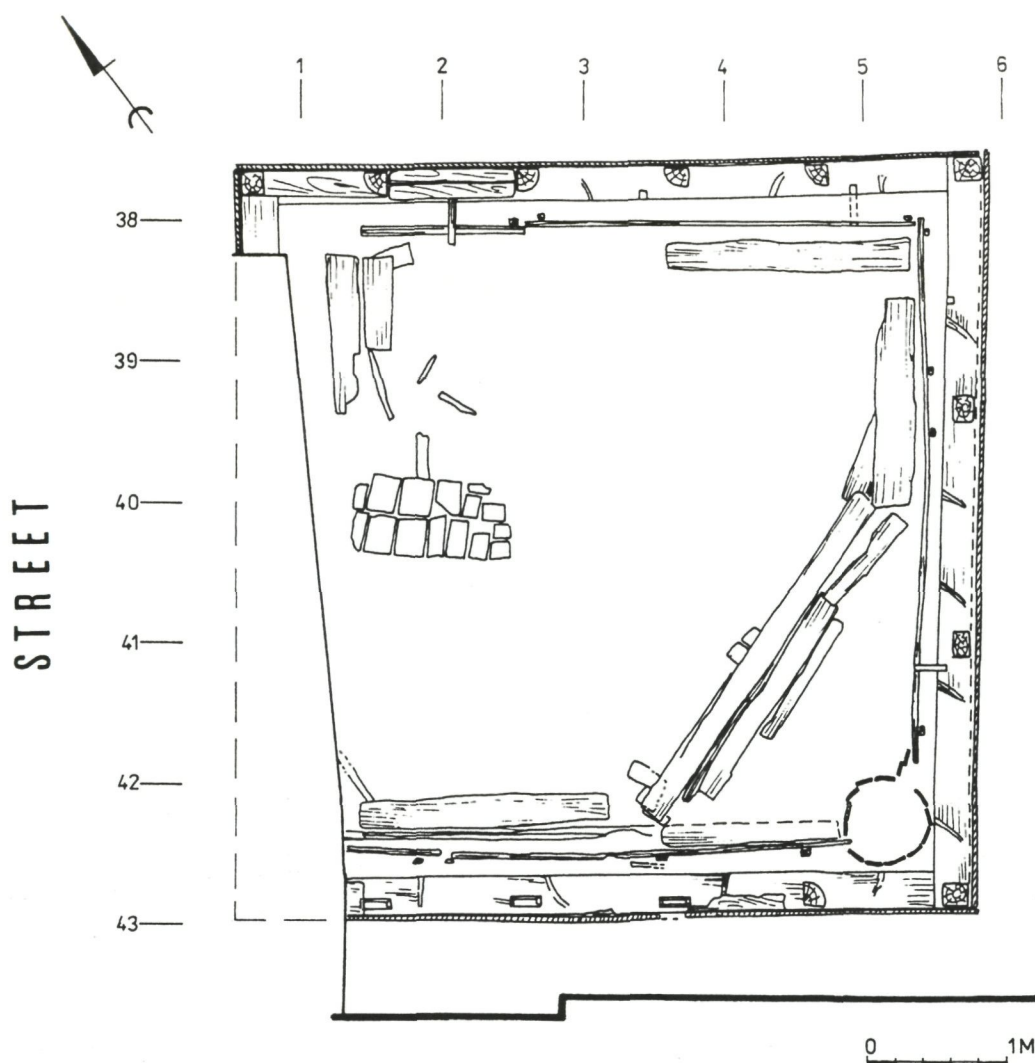


Fig. 4. - Narutowicza Str. 36. The frame and post building in the front part of the parcel. Beginning of the 14th century.

St. Nicholas' '*in monte salis*' – in the area of the salt production (Riemann 1924, 50-51; Leciejewicz 1960, 346; Spors 1991, 118). The move must have been connected with the building of the new collegiate church and the arrival of canons in the new place. The abode of the chapter was probably situated in the north-west part of the block in the neighbourhood of the bishop's see and the school. Slightly later, the latter two were mentioned in written sources (Riemann 1924, 51).

The second of the oldest churches was founded in 1266 near the hospital of St. Spiritus, at the southern limit of the town and in the vicinity of the mill and the gate (Riemann 1924, 57). The remains of the hospital and the cemetery have been discovered during the rescue-excavations of 1991.

The last of the 13th-century churches was St. George, linked to the hospital and located outside the town's rampart. It was built before 1282 (Riemann 1924, 57-58; Sandow 1940, No 8).

In 1297, the new harbour is mentioned in the written sources for the first time. It was presumably located on the site which can be identified through the 17th-century town plans (Viergutz 1939, 151-

152; Riemann 1924, 59; Spors 1991, 117). In the vicinity of the port, a *taberna* and a shipyard were also mentioned. The building of the harbour apparently denoted the collapse of an older harbour located near the northern suburb of the stronghold. The town and the new port were linked both by land and by waterway. The latter started at the waterfront of the town and led to the harbour on the river. Some remains of the waterfront and a boat were found during the 1992 excavations.

The archaeological excavations provided evidence that plots and plot layout appeared in the town as early as the mid-13th century. A detailed analysis of one of excavated sites suggests that the primary plots were 2 rods wide and 6 rods long (1 rod = 4,71 m). This layout has been gradually transformed since the middle of the 14th century. The changes were dependent on the emergence of brick-built houses (Rebowski & Polak 1996). Further work show indicate whether or not these conclusions are valid for the whole of the town.

Apart from the spatial transformations the foundation of the new town also led to huge cultural changes. This phenomenon can be illustrated by

means of two components of the material culture: pottery and buildings.

The pottery sets from the latest layers of the stronghold and dated back to the 12th century are almost homogeneous. The traditional Slavonic ware is predominant without exception and it is represented almost solely by pots made by using the same technology. Very rarely, a few imported vessels turn up (Leciejewicz *et al.* 1961, 62-67; Losinski *et al.* 1971, 26-53). The picture of the sets discovered in the location town and dated to the third quarter of the 13th century is totally different. Here, the characteristic feature is the strong differentiation of the pottery. Nearly every assemblage numbers four kinds of wares: the traditional Slavonic pottery, greyware, early stoneware and imported glazed vessels (Rebkowski 1995). This conspicuous differentiation illustrates rapid qualitative changes that took place in Kolobrzeg around the middle of the 13th century.

The most popular group of pottery are greywares, represented both by vessels with a flat base and vessels with a globular one (*Kugeltöpfe*). Greywares can be expected to appear in Pomerania in the first half or around the middle of the 13th century at the very latest. In that period, the local production of greywares starts in Pomerania and this believed to be linked with the influx of German settlers and potters (Nawroński & Rebkowski, in print). This is the context in which the immediate appearance of numerous greyware objects in the earliest phases of the location town of Kolobrzeg is to be considered (Rebkowski 1995, 26-39, 77-80). On the other hand, the traditional Slavonic pottery appearing in the oldest layers in some parts of the town also has a particular significance. In the second half of the 13th century, they represented between 1 and 10 per cent of the pottery and the group did not disappear before the middle of the 14th century. This phenomenon cannot be seen solely as an indication for local exchange between the town and the Slavonic settlements. Rather, one should look for other explanations for this considerable share of traditional vessels and one of these may well be the attachment of the autochthonous people to their traditional products. It seems that the above-mentioned occurrence of Slavonic Wares is an indication of the migration of the population from the old centre and from the neighbouring villages to the new town. One of the highest occurrences of traditional pottery was discovered in the northern part of the town, at today's Ratuszowa Street. This does not seem to be a coincidence when considering that in the early 14th century the street was called '*platea Slavorum*' – the Slavonic Street – in the Town Book (Sandow 1939, No 59-60; Rebkowski 1995, 21-25, 80-83).

The analysis of the development of the buildings also provides interesting indications. In the local tradition of Slavonic buildings two kinds of house constructions were the most common ones and predominated in the period before the German urban colonisation. Those are the wattle constructions and the log buildings (Leciejewicz & Losinski 1983, 245-252; Barnycz-Gupieniec 1990, 300; Cnotliwy 1996, 21-22). Such types of buildings have been also discovered in the area of the stronghold of Kolobrzeg (Leciejewicz *et al.* 1961, 74). But the foundation of the new town coincided with major changes in wooden architecture. The oldest remains of houses dating back to the second half of the 13th century are differentiated and represent at least two building traditions. The predominant types were wattle constructions and various types of frame-and-post constructions (German – *Ständerbau auf Schwellen*). Other types of building methods were used only in a very small number of cases. These are the log constructions and the so-called fence-and-inter-post constructions which have been registered only very occasionally.

The appearance of the frame-and-post construction in the towns along the southern Baltic coast indicates a growing influence from the West and was connected with newcomers from Germany (e.g. Zbierski 1978, 107-119; Caune 1984, 83; Nawroński 1990, 158; Fehring 1992). This construction technique was used in the West from the 12th century onwards and in the case of Kolobrzeg it occurred already in the third quarter of the 13th century; very soon afterwards, it became the most common type of building technique (fig. 4) (Rebkowski 1989, 469; Polak & Rebkowski 1996, 211-214, fig. III-8, 9, 15).

In the second half of the 13th century, however, the wattle construction was still in use (fig. 5). Of particular interest is the fact that this kind of buildings occurred very frequently in properties situated in the '*platea Slavorum*' (Polak & Rebkowski 1996, 209-210, fig. III-21, 23, 31). With time, however, the wattle buildings disappeared and were replaced with other wooden structures. From the 1330s onwards, the town was gradually converted into an agglomeration of brick-built houses.

Concluding remarks

The foundation of the new town in Kolobrzeg led to fundamental spatial transformations in the settlement structure. When considering the location site in a broader geographical perspective, it is only too obvious that the new town refers to the older one in terms of its spatial position. This kind of link seems to be characteristic for many of the Pomeranian



Fig. 5. - Ratuszowa Str. 12. The front part of the parcel in the 3rd quarter of the 13th century.

charter towns which either absorbed the earlier Slavonic settlements (e.g. Szczecin) or were situated in their immediate vicinity (Piskorski 1987, 85). However, in the case of Kolobrzeg the centre was shifted

about 2 km to the north and established on a new, as yet unsettled place. To some extent, the new town 'cut off' the old one from the seacoast. Between 1227 and 1253, the Pomeranian Dukes still drew up some

documents in the stronghold but there is evidence that already by the 70s of the 13th century the old centre fell into ruin and was deserted or at least depopulated. On this site, a few gardens appeared and a Benedictine nunnery was founded in 1277 by the bishop. A year later two different written sources called the former town '*antiqua civitas*' – the old town (Sandow 1940, No 2; Leciejewicz 1960, 339, 348). In the course of only two decades, the location of a new town had caused the stronghold and its suburbs to be ruined and depopulated. Apparently, a number of the inhabitants moved to the new centre (Rebkowski 1995, 82-83).

In terms of spatial change, by far the most important innovation – and a totally new one for this particular region – was the idea and implementation of planning and organising urban space.

The new Kolobrzeg took over almost all the functions of the old central place: legal functions, production, exchange and distribution, religious and cultural functions. However, it is worth noting that no fortified abode of a feudal owner was ever built inside the town. The bishop only had a property there.

Irrespective of the developing legal, social and spatial changes, salt production continued and remained one of the pillars of the economic development of the town. The archaeological sources indicate Kolobrzeg to have grown economically already by the late 13th century, as shown by the growing craft production and long-distance trade. The latter seems to be demonstrated by the large amounts of imported pottery amongst other things (Rebkowski 1995, 87-94). The occurrence of a few mills in the third quarter of the 13th century is also a certain indication of the intensification of grain production and trade (Sandow 1940, No 2, 8-10, 26, 31, 41).

All cultural changes occurring in Kolobrzeg were linked with the new settlers coming in from Germany and with the new cultural standards they brought with them into Pomerania. However, during the second half of the 13th and in the beginning of the 14th century, Slavonic traditions did survive to some extent. Specific elements of pottery production and building construction seem to be among the most distinctive indicators for this. At present, we assume that the survival of the old cultural traditions were at their strongest in the neighbourhood of the '*platea Slavorum*'. An analysis of the textiles found in that area also yielded interesting indications. Most of the woollen textiles dating back to the second half of the 13th century were produced with traditional techniques. In the region of the Baltic sea, those were the most common ones in the 11th and 12th centuries (Maik 1996). In the course of the first half of the 14th century, the last remnants of Slavonic traditions disappeared. In social terms

one should regard this trend as the result of the adoption of new cultural standards and of the assimilation of the indigenous population with the German settlers within the new town boundaries (Rebkowski 1995, 83).

These conclusions represent only an introductory generalisation concerning the changes in urban development in 13th century Kolobrzeg. As a result of different transformations a new town replaced an old centre. Considering the profound social, legal, spatial and cultural transformations it is not possible to describe the process as an evolutionary development. Nevertheless, in some respects the new town took over almost all the functions of the old centre. Therefore, in spite of the introduction of new principles and new ways of doing things, there is still some evidence pointing to the functional continuity of both centres (Piskorski 1987, 87).

References

- BARNYCZ-GUPIENIEC R. 1990: Stan badan nad drewnianym budownictwem wczesnosredniowiecznym, in: Z. KURNATOWSKA (ed.), *Stan i potrzeby badan nad wczesnym sredniowieczem w Polsce*, Poznan-Wroclaw-Warszawa, 299-302.
- CAUNE A.W. 1984: *Ziliska Rigi XII-XIV vv. po danym archeologicznych raskopok*, Riga.
- CNOTLIWY E. 1996: Szczecin w drugiej polowie XII i w XIII wieku w swietle ostatnich badan archeologicznych, *Przeglad Zachodniopomorski* 11, 7-41.
- CZACHAROWSKI A. & NAWROLSKI T. (ed.) 1992: *Archaeologia Elbingensis* 1, Gdańsk..
- FEHRING G.P. 1992: Entwicklung und Baugeschichte des slawischen und frühdeutsche Lübeck, in: Czacharowski & Nawrolski (ed.), 103-120.
- GÖBEL H. 1927: *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung von Kolberg*, Düsseldorf.
- HOFFA M. 1968: *Niektóre cechy fizyczno-geograficzne rejonu Kolobrzegu i ich znaczenie dla portu i uzdrowiska*, Poznan.
- LECIEJEWICZ L. 1960: Wczesnosredniowieczny Kolobrzeg, *Slavia Antiqua* 7, 307-392.
- LECIEJEWICZ L. 1962: *Poczatki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wroclaw-Warszawa-Kraków.
- LECIEJEWICZ L. 1969: Zur Entwicklung von Frühstädte an der südlichen Ostseeküste, *Zeitschrift f. Archäologie* 3, 182-210.
- LECIEJEWICZ L. 1991: Poczatki miast w nadbaltyckiej Europie, in: *Czas, przestrzen, praca w dawnych miastach*, Warszawa, 101-114.
- LECIEJEWICZ L. & LOSINSKI W. 1983: Rozwój osady i jej zabudowa, in: E. CNOTLIWY, L. LECIEJEWICZ,

- W. LOSINSKI (ed.), *Szczecin we wczesnym sredniowieczu*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź, 245-253.
- LECIEJEWICZ L., LOSINSKI W. & TABACZYNSKA E. 1961: *Kolobrzeg we wczesnym sredniowieczu*, Wrocław.
- LOSINSKI W. 1993: Szczeciński ośrodek miejski w dobie przedlokacyjnej, *Archeologia Polski* 28:2, 285-318.
- LOSINSKI W. 1994: W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich u Słowian nadbałtyckich, *Slavia Antiqua* 35, 101-128.
- LOSINSKI W., OLCZAK J. & SIUCHNINSKI K. 1971: *Zróżdła archeologiczne do studiów nad wczesnosredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa koszalińskiego* 4, Poznań.
- MAIK J. 1996: Słowiańskie tkaniny w lokacyjnym Kolobrzegu, in: Rebkowski (ed.), 299-330.
- MOZDZIOCH S. 1994: The origins of the medieval Polish towns, *Archaeologia Polona* 32, 129-153.
- NAWROLSKI T. 1990: Gebäude und topographische Strukturen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Elbing, *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* 20, 157-172.
- NAWROLSKI T. 1993: Archäologische Forschungen in den mittelalterlichen Städten Pommerns, in: M. GLÄSER (ed.), *Archäologie des Mittelalters und Bauforschung im Hanseraum*, Rostock, 27-33.
- NAWROLSKI T. & REBKOWSKI M. in print: Ein Beitrag zu den Forschungen an der mittelalterlichen Keramik in Pommern, *OFFA*.
- PISKORSKI J.M. 1987: *Miasta księstwa szczecińskiego do połowy XIV w.*, Warszawa-Poznań.
- POLAK Z. & REBKOWSKI M. 1996: Budownictwo i architektura, in: Rebkowski (ed.), 209-220.
- PUB II: *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* 2:1, ed. R. v. Prümers, Stettin, 1885.
- REBKOWSKI M. 1989: Stan i problematyka badań nad początkami miasta lokacyjnego w Kolobrzegu w świetle trzech pierwszych sezonów badawczych (1986-1988), *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 39: 3-4, 463-479.
- REBKOWSKI M. 1993: Przemiany społeczno-kulturowe w dobie lokacji w Kolobrzegu w świetle badań nad ceramiką, *Archeologia Polski* 38:2, 319-336.
- REBKOWSKI M. 1995: *Sredniowieczna ceramika miasta lokacyjnego w Kolobrzegu*, Kolobrzeg.
- REBKOWSKI M. 1996 (ed.): *Archeologia sredniowiecznego Kolobrzegu* 1, Kolobrzeg.
- REBKOWSKI M. & POLAK Z. 1996: Rozplanowanie przestrzenne, in: Rebkowski (ed.), 195-208.
- RIEMANN H. 1924: *Geschichte der Stadt Kolberg*, Kolberg.
- SANDOW E. (ed.) 1940: Das älteste Kolberger Stadtbuch von 1277-1373, *Baltische Studien N.F.* 42, 90-137.
- SPORS J. 1981: Ośrodki stołeczne państwa zachodniopomorskiego w XII w. i w pierwszej połowie XIII w., *Materialy Zachodniopomorskie* 27, 209-234.
- SPORS J. 1991: Początki miasta lokacyjnego w Kolobrzegu, in: *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach*, Warszawa, 115-128.
- ŚLĄSKI K. 1969: Zwycięstwo stosunków feudalnych na Pomorzu Zachodnim (1124-1295), in: G. LABUDA (ed.), *Historia Pomorza* 1:2, Poznań, 5-167.
- VIERGUTZ F. 1939: Pommersche Stadt- und Festungspläne im Kriegsarchiv zu Stockholm, *Baltische Studien N.F.* 41, 141-160.
- ZBIERSKI A. 1978: Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w IX-XIII w., in: E. CIESLAK (ed.), *Historia Gdańska* 1, Gdańsk, 71-124.

Dr. Marian Rebkowski
Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii
Polskiej Akademii Nauk
Zespół Badawczy w Kolobrzegu
ul. Kamienna 1
78 - 100 Kolobrzeg
Poland

Emma Zilivinskaya

The Golden Horde city pattern: evidence from excavations

In the late 12th century, numerous nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes which inhabited the steppes of Central Asia and Mongolia were united under Temujin who assumed the title of Genghis Khan. The newly emerged early state displayed a rigid military organization. Pastures and roaming territories were divided into *uluses*, i.e. fiefs, allotted to the members of the House of Genghis and their retinue in exchange for military service. Such an organization prompted further conquests and the seizure of new lands, pastures, cattle and slaves. As a result of this large-scale expansion, an enormous empire emerged, encompassing China, Khorezm, Iran, Transcaucasia, the Crimea, Moldavia, the steppes of Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and South-East Europe as well as the Volga Bulgaria with adjacent lands. Then the Mongols, having suffered but a few minor defeats, invaded Poland, Bohemia and Hungary and only the death of the Great Khan Ögedey in 1241 compelled them to withdraw.

In the mid-13th c. the Mongolian state was divided into four *uluses* by the number of Genghis Khan's sons. The *ulus* of Jochi was one of the largest. It encompassed the steppes of Eastern Europe and the majority of the steppes of Western Siberia and Kazakhstan (Desht-i Kipchak or the steppes of the Polovtsi) as well as the North Caucasus, the Crimea, Moldavia, the Volga Bulgaria and the western part of Khorezm – all of them with a sedentary population – and even the client principalities of Russia. It is a curious fact that Jochi's *ulus* owes the glorious name of the Golden Horde to Russian chronicles of the 16th and 17th centuries

Initially, the administration of the Golden Horde was concentrated in the traditional cities of the Volga Bulgaria, Urgench and the Crimea. However, according to the *Itinerarium* of William of Rubruck, the

construction of new cities began in the steppes as early as in the 1250s.¹ G. Fyodorov-Davydov holds that the construction in question was prompted by the khans of Jochi's *ulus* who strived to sever relations with the Great Khans and were therefore badly in need of new administrative centres depending entirely on the Golden Horde khan.² Thousands of builders and craftsmen from Central Asia, Russia, the Volga Bulgaria, the Caucasus, and the Crimea were herded to the steppes where they soon built great cities with good amenities. These towns became major trading and craft centres and ensured the economic strength of the state. At present more than 100 cities and townships are known from written and numismatic sources and the archaeological record;³ actually, they were far more numerous.

For a long time and in spite of the major role played by the Golden Horde in the development of Russia, little attention had been paid to the study of the Golden Horde. The Mongols and Tartars were considered invaders and oppressors, barbarian nomads devoid of even rudimentary culture, etc. Excavations of the second capital of the Golden Horde, the New Sarai, carried out under the guidance of A. Tereshchenko, were aimed solely at recovering masterpieces. The excavations gave an idea of the rich material culture of the Golden Horde cities, but the majority of documentation and artefacts was lost. A true archaeological study of the Golden Horde began in 1959 when Aleksei Smirnov and German Fyodorov-Davydov established the still functioning Volga archaeological expedition. The expedition conducted large-scale excavations at such Lower Volga sites as Sarai, the New Sarai, and Beljamen. All modern knowledge of the city pattern, architecture, building, handicrafts and the circulation of money in the

¹ Puteshestviya v vostochnyye strany Plano Karpini i Rubruka (Journeys of Plano Carpini and Rubruck to Oriental Lands), Moscow, 1957.

² Fyodorov-Davydov G.A., *Zolotoordynskiye goroda Povolzhya* (The Golden Horde Cities of the Volga Basin), Moscow,

1994, 10.

³ Yegorov V.L., *Istoricheskaya geografiya Zolotoi Ordyy XII-XIV vekakh* (The Golden Horde Historical Geography in the 12th-14th centuries), Moscow, 1985.

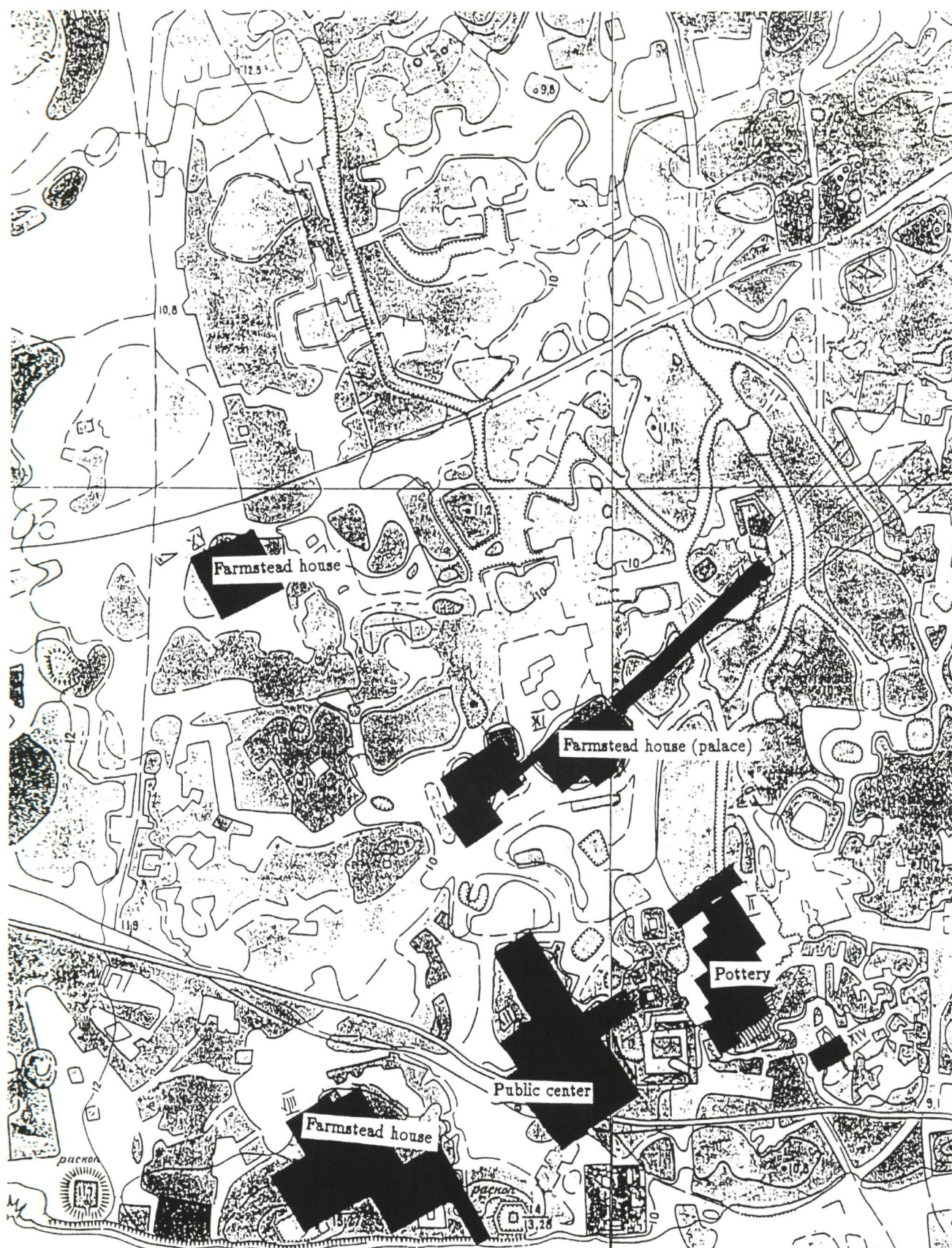


Fig. 1. - The fragment of the map of Selitrennoye cite between Khuchugury hill and Krasny hill.

Golden Horde is based on the fieldwork carried out by the Volga expedition.

The Golden Horde city pattern is considerably different from that of the European and Oriental cities. One's attention is likely to be struck primarily by their dimensions. Thus, the area of Sarai, the first capital of the Golden Horde, is estimated as ranging from 10 to 36 square kilometres with suburbs.⁴ The Golden Horde cities were not fortified. Small ramparts and ditches running across living quarters instead of guarding the city boundaries were built in certain cities only in the 1360s, during an internecine feud in the Horde. Instead of being subdivided into a citadel, the aristocratic ward and a trading quarter, the cities of the Golden Horde were built after the estate pattern. According to Fyodorov-Davydov, they emerged as a result of the agglomeration of aristocratic estates surrounded with those of vassals and clients, houses of slaves and later of the city plebs.⁵

The excavations of Sarai at the Selitrennoye site have been carried out by the Volga expedition since 1975. They brought to light large pottery workshops with various kinds of kilns for all kinds of pottery, a glass workshop, limekilns, houses of all the social strata, amenities such as water-supply and sewers, irrigation canals and storage ponds as well as mausolea and cemeteries. All in all, an area of some 15,000 square metres was excavated. The aristocratic ward of the city situated between the Kuchugury and Krasnyi mounds (Fig. 1) has been most thoroughly investigated. Three neighbouring rich estates were excavated there. A big burnt-brick building stood at the centre of one of them. It comprised some 30 rooms clustered round a large and magnificently decorated throne-hall. The excavators hold that the house belonged to an aristocrat.⁶ The two other estates are far less gorgeous, yet they also belonged to the members of the upper stratum.

In 1983-87 the area between the said three estates was investigated. A complex of public buildings clustered round a square was excavated there (Fig 2). The complex can be dated to the 1340-70s. A big mosque was the main building there. The mosque consisted of two compartments, *i.e.* the sanctuary and an annex in the north-west part of the building (Fig. 3). The burnt-brick walls of the mosque were almost completely dismantled at a later date. The excavators succeeded in tracing the plan almost completely from imprints of bricks and from the wall bed sunk into virgin soil. The sanctuary was a room – almost square

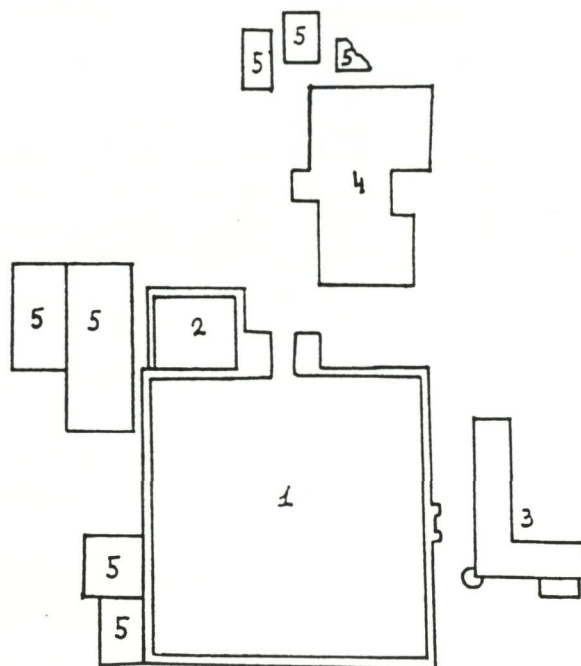


Fig. 2. - Mutual arrangement of buildings around the mosque: 1. mosque; 2. annex of the mosque; 3. madreseh or khanako; 4. public bath-house; 5. dwellings.

in plan – measuring 36.5 m by 35.5 m. The main entrance was marked with a huge portal in the north wall. There was another, smaller doorway in the middle of the east wall. It seems likely that there was yet another doorway in the west wall, but no traces of it have survived. The interior of the sanctuary was partitioned into nine naves with eight rows of columns. Each row in turn consisted of eight columns. Those were wooden pillars square in section, painted with white lime mortar and resting upon massive brick sub-floor foundations. The two columns flanking the *mihrab* were probably made of stone, since their foundations were reinforced with a wooden framework in order to make the shrinkage even. The rectangular *mihrab* was engaged into the south wall and had a *ganch*, *i.e.* carved plaster, frame. Before the *mihrab* there was a carved *ganch* lattice-work (the *maksura*), the framework of which was composed of wooden sticks. An uncovered aula measuring 9.3 m by 9.0 m was situated at the centre of the sanctuary, near the main entrance. At the centre of the aula lay a large round water-tank faced with brick. The floor of the rest of the sanctuary was made of trampled-down earth. The walls, like the columns, were probably plastered white.

An annex measuring 13.85 m by 9.8 m was attached to the exterior of the north wall, close to the western pylon of the doorway. The interior of the annex was richly adorned. The floor was paved with burnt brick, while the walls were decorated with mosaic panels composed of polychrome gilt tiles. A

⁴ Ibid., 115.

⁵ Fyodorov-Davydov, *op.cit.*, 38.

⁶ Ibid., 58.

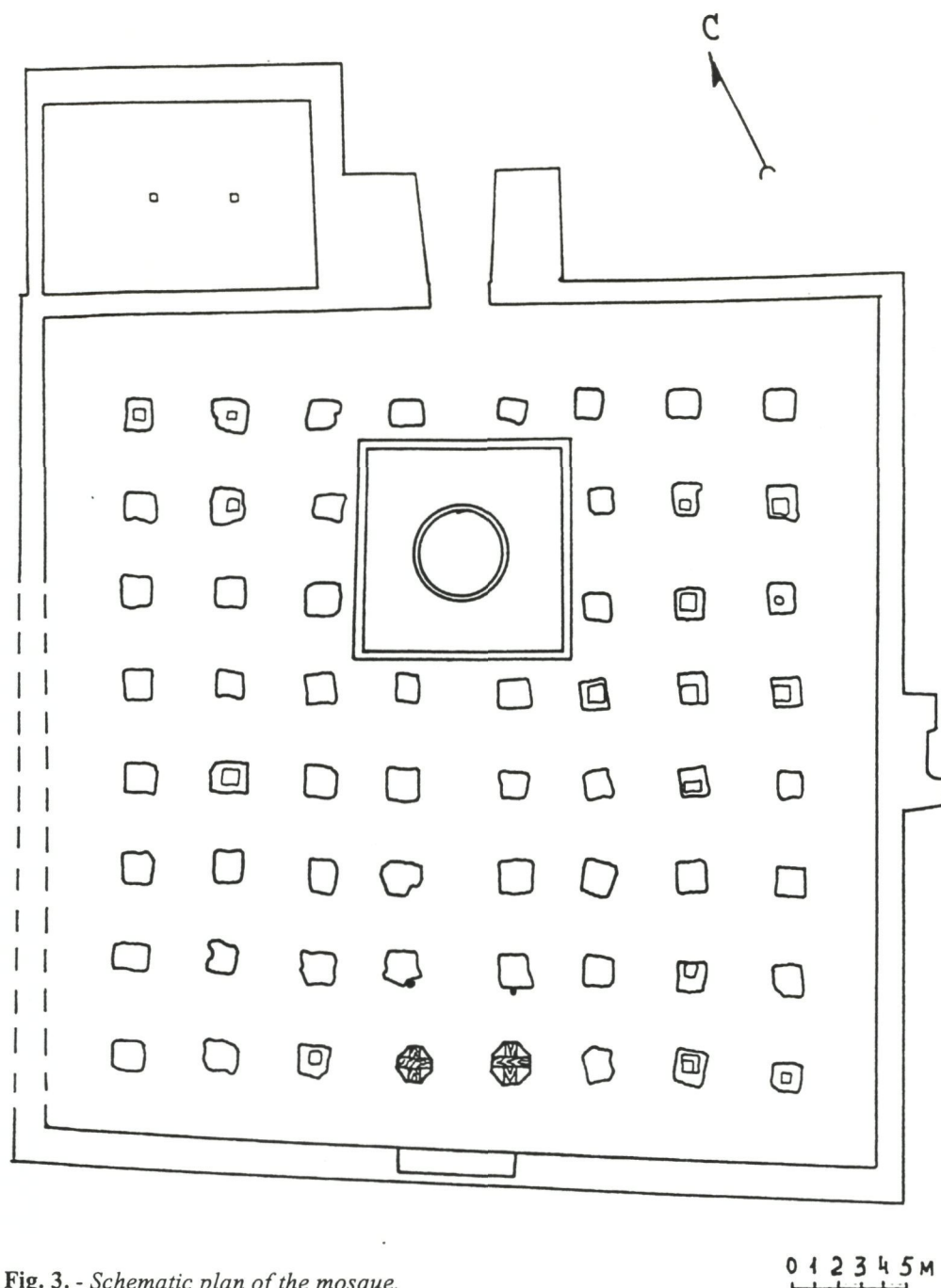


Fig. 3. - Schematic plan of the mosque.

large heated adobe bunk, the *sufa*, was installed along the west wall. The ceiling was supported by two columns, the stone foundations of which have survived. It seems likely that the room was not a cult one. This could have been a court-room or the premises of yet another institution attached to the mosque.

The space west of the mosque was occupied by living quarters. Two houses were attached directly to the southern section of its west wall. Between the northern section of the same wall and the wall of a big multi-chambered house there was a passage two metres wide. Still further west yet another house was attached to the former forming a single living complex with it. A street some 15 metres wide ran between the northern and southern housing areas

leading probably to the western entrance which has not survived.

South of the mosque there was a cemetery consisting of several mausolea, charnel-houses and tombs with brick monuments (the *mastaba*). The cemetery was founded after the mosque, maybe even after the mosque had ceased to function and the whole area became desolate.

North of the mosque a big multi-chambered structure displaying certain traits of a communal building was situated. The building consisted of two perpendicular wings (Fig. 4). The north wall of the building ran parallel to the east wall of the mosque and was located at a distance of 6.0 metres from it. The walls of the building were composed of mud-brick and the

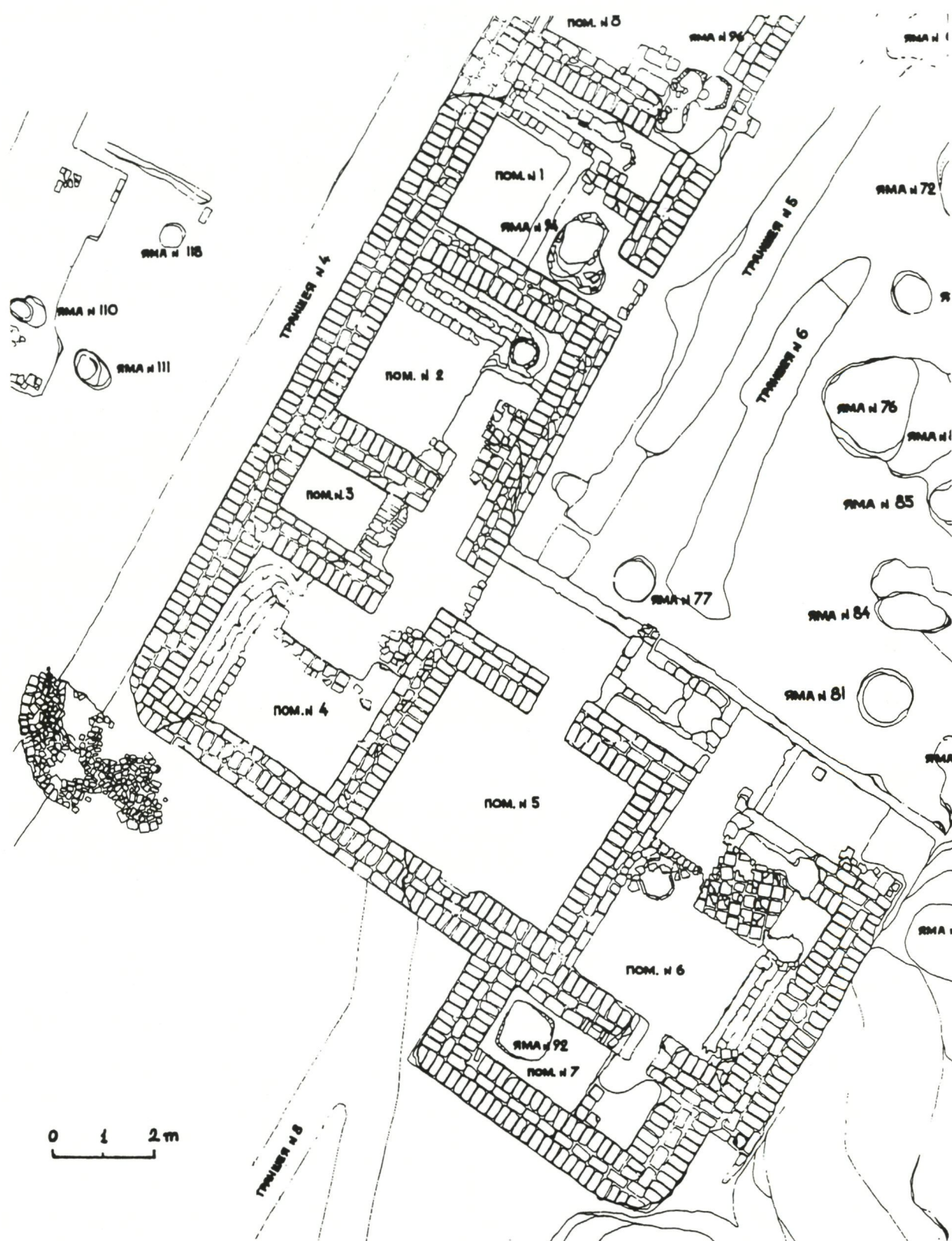
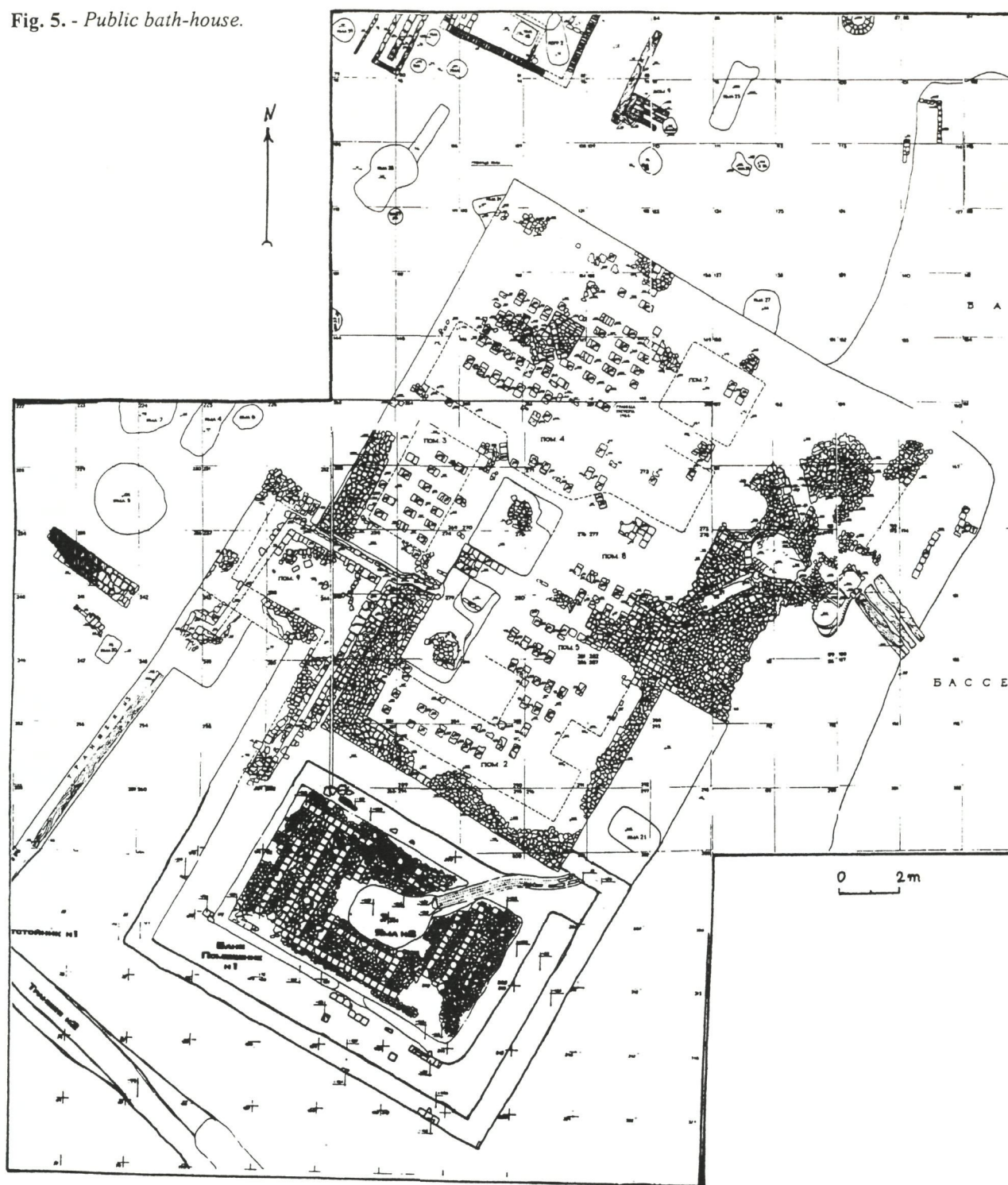


Fig. 4. - Madreseh or khanako.

external south-western corner was reinforced with a round burnt-brick tower-buttress. Along the N-S axis the building was some 20 metres long while along the W-E axis it measured 15.1 m. Both wings were 5.25 m wide. All the compartments except one, which was attached later, were arranged in a row along two perpendicular axes.

The north-western axis of the building was occupied by five compartments, four of which were habitable rooms of similar dimensions and plan while the fifth one was a small larder. The habitable rooms were equipped with hearths with horizontal smoke ducts, the *kans*, and adobe bunks, the *sufas*. In the floor were installed the *toshnaus*, i.e., the wash-

Fig. 5. - Public bath-house.



stands. There were few traces of human activity and everyday articles as well as a total lack of remodeling characteristic of the Golden Horde habitable houses; this implies that the rooms in question were not continuously inhabited. At the centre of the south-eastern wing of the building a square compartment was situated. It was slightly bigger than the other ones and was totally devoid of interior structures. In its south wall, right opposite the entrance, there was a rectangular niche. The orientation of the niche is akin to that of the *mihrab* of the big mosque, there-

fore the room was apparently the house sanctuary. East of the sanctuary there was yet another habitable room. Its plan was almost similar to that of the other rooms, yet there are traces of remodelling, as shown by the brick-paved floor, additional hearths and an annex room attached to the south wall. An opening was made in the wall to connect the main room with the annex. In these rooms the excavators encountered large quantities of ash and bones as well as utensils. It was probably the owner who had lived there, either by himself or with his family, for a long time.

In all probability, the building was an institution related to the Moslem religion, such as the madrasah or the *hanako*, i.e. the hostel for pilgrims. In one of the wings there were uniform rooms for either pilgrims or students, while in the other the house mosque and the room of either the preceptor or the landlord were situated.

South of the big mosque a public bath-house designed for wealthy people was situated.⁷ Its façade faced the main portal of the mosque and the western section of its north wall. Between the bath-house and the mosque there was either a street or a square some 11 metres wide. The building of the bath-house was stretched along the meridional axis (Fig. 5). It was 26 metres long, 13.3 m wide in the southern part and 15.8 m wide in the northern part. The interior was partitioned into nine compartments. The portal entrance to the bath-house was situated in the middle of its western side. The lobby led to the cloakroom with the heated *sufa* along three walls. The floor of the cloakroom was figuratively paved with bricks and bats. At the centre of the floor there was a pit for a fountain basin with two ceramic pipes to adduct the water. There were stained-glass windows with the *ganch* sash. Next to the cloakroom there were two dressing-rooms that could be entered directly from the lobby. Their walls were decorated with tiles and the floor was paved alternatively with hexagonal bricks and triangular turquoise tiles. The floor was warmed with a system of sub-floor heating. The bath compartment consisted of a cross-shaped central hall and four corner baths. The flooring of all these rooms rested upon small pillars made up of stacks of several bricks set one upon another. The empty space between the pillars was heated with warm air from the heating compartment adjoining the bath on the east side. At the centre of the latter there was an oval oven and a cauldron with the water. The heating compartment immediately adjoined the *haus*, i.e. the reservoir from which the water was drawn. Judging from the design, the public bath-house at the Selitrennoye site was a typical *hammam*, i.e. an oriental bath-house. Such bath-houses have been spread all over the Orient since the Middle Ages.

Living quarters were situated north of the bath-house. Several houses with either wooden or mud-brick walls and the foundations of three *yurts* were excavated there. Behind the bath-house there was a public convenience consisting of two compartments, the existence of which is indicative of good amenities of the Golden Horde cities.

Separate communal buildings, such as mosques,⁸ public bath-houses,⁹ and madrasahs¹⁰ were excavated in many a Golden Horde city, yet it is only at the Selitrennoye site that the whole complex of such buildings, being the public centre of a large ward and a single architectural ensemble, was excavated. All the structures there cluster round the big mosque adjoining the premises of either a court or another office. Owing to the existence of the mosque in the ward, either a *madrasah* or a hostel for pilgrims was built there. In addition, there was a public bath-house near the mosque. It is worth noting that oriental bath-houses, like those of Rome, were important public establishments. The bath-house was a place for resting, meeting people and enjoying oneself. Moreover, a bath-house situated close to a mosque could well have been its *waqf*, i.e. pious endowment. Living quarters clustered around the complex of communal buildings.

Stratigraphic investigations have shown that the mosque was the first to be built in the area in question. Its walls are cardinal-point oriented with a thirty-degree deviation to the east from the meridian. According to Islamic canons, a mosque should be oriented to the southern (*qibla*) wall, i.e. its *mihrab* should be looking at Mecca. The builders of the Selitrennoye mosque evidently blundered in their calculations. A simple reckoning shows that the deviation from the north/south axis should make up 16.7 degrees. The walls of the later buildings of the bath-house, *hanako* and habitable houses run parallel to those of the mosque. It is also the case with the walls of the structures situated within the estates remote from the mosque. The fact is indicative of a uniform planning of the city. Apparently, while laying out a quarter, first the *qibla*-oriented mosque was built and the other structures were built in relation to the orien-

⁷ ZILIVINSKAYA E.D., *Srednevekovyye bani Nizhnego Povolzhya* (Medieval bath-houses of the Lower Volga basin), in: *Sokrovishcha sarmatskikh vozhdov i drevniye goroda Povolzhya*, Moscow, 1989.

⁸ ZILIVINSKAYA E.D., *Mecheti Zolotoi Ordy* (The Golden Horde mosques), in: *Arkheologiya Povolzhya*, Yoshkar-Ola, 1996.

⁹ ALIKHOVA A.Ye., *Postroiki drevnego goroda Mokhshe* (The structures of the ancient town of Mokhshe), *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, 1973, N 2; BIRNEA P.P. & ZILIVINSKAYA E.D., *Bani Starogo Orkhaya* (Bath-houses of the Old Orkhei), in: *Sredneve-*

kovyye pamyatniki Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurechya, Kishinev, 1988; KHOVANSKAYA O.S., *Bani goroda Bolgara* (Bath-houses of the city of Bolgar), *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii* 42, 1954.

¹⁰ YAKOBSON A.L., *Srednekovyyi Krym* (The Medieval Crimea), Moscow-Leningrad, 1964.

¹¹ TIESENHAUSEN V.G., *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordy* (A Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde), Vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, 306.

tation of the mosque. According to Ibn Battuta, there were 'thirteen dome mosques for solemn service... and a lot of other mosques'.¹¹

Thus, the investigation of the complex of communal buildings at the Selitrennoye site enables us to re-interpret the principles of the Golden Horde town-

planning. Given the above facts, the general view of the Golden Horde city as being laid out after the estate pattern cannot be accepted. It seems likely that the Golden Horde cities were built according to a uniform plan with buildings of each quarter clustered round a mosque.

Emma Zilivinskaya
Moscow State University
Archaeological Department
119899 Moscow V-234
Russia

Carme Alòs, Josep Giralt & Josep Tugues

Aportaciones de la documentación escrita y arqueológica a la génesis y evolución de una ciudad medieval: Balaguer

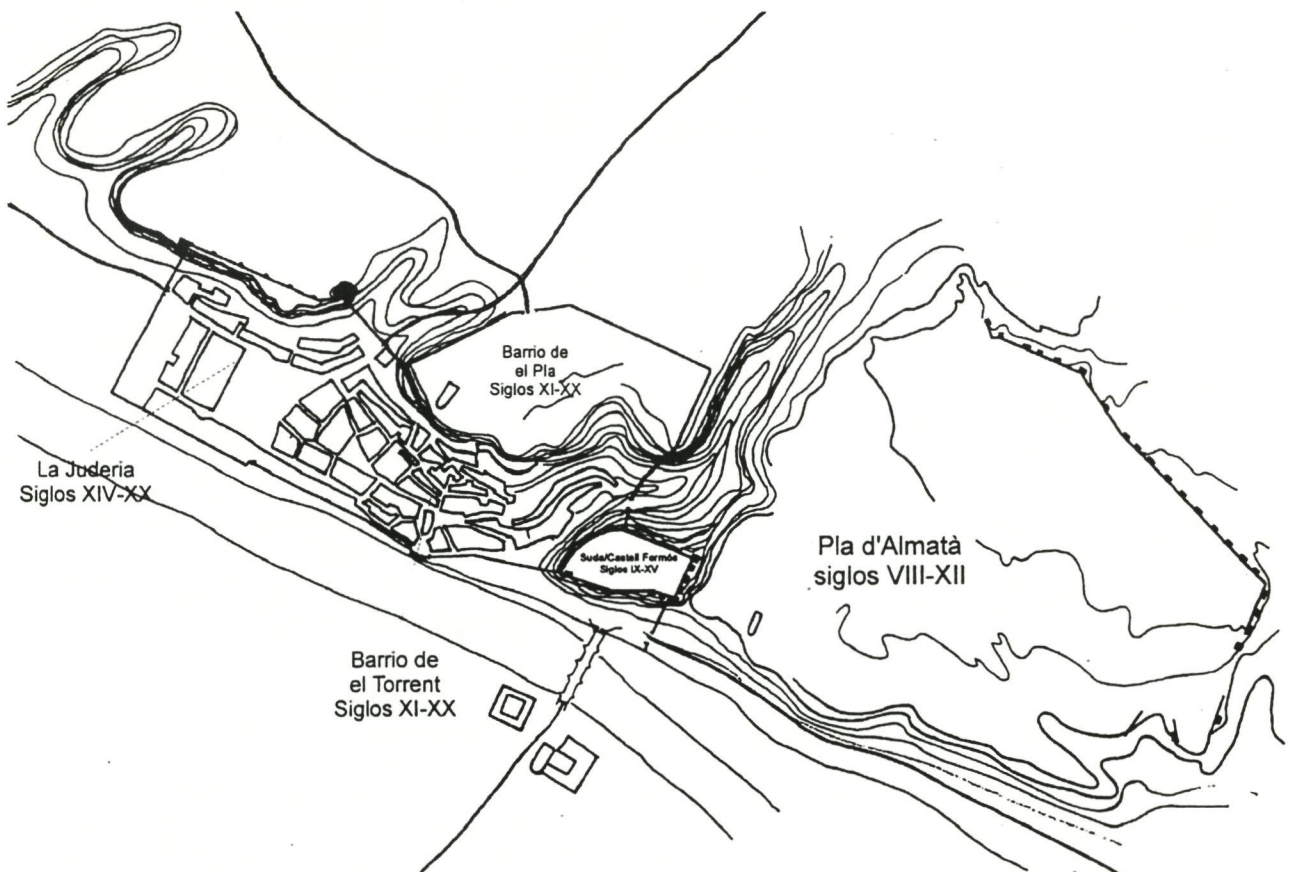
1 Introducción

Balaguer es una ciudad que debe su génesis a la invasión árabe de la Península Ibérica en el siglo VIII. Fue ideada primero como campamento militar y este primer asentamiento se produjo en una extenso altiplano situado a la orilla derecha del río Segre: el Pla d'Almatà. Es posiblemente a este primer asentamiento al que se refiere la primera noticia histórica que tenemos de la ciudad: el año 863-864 hizo una parada en Balaguer la comitiva que trasladaba el cadáver de San Vicente desde Hispania al monasterio de Castres;

Aimó, monje de Saint-Germain-des-Prés escribió el relato del viaje a petición del abad Bernó y los monjes del monasterio de Castres: “...*Siquidem illis ad Balagivum oppidum, iuxta fluvium Segarim, cursim pervenientibus, in quadam insula solo contigua resederunt...*”¹.

Con la construcción de la alcazaba a finales del siglo IX el campamento empezó a consolidarse como ciudad, y se formaron dos nuevos barrios: el del Pla, en un altiplano separado de Almatà por el barranco de Alcoraç; y el de Torrent, a los pies de la alcazaba siguiendo el curso del mismo barranco. La conquista

Fig. 1. - Esquema de la evolución urbana de la ciudad de Balaguer.



¹ D'Abadal 1980, 32-34.

de la ciudad llevada a cabo por los condados catalanes a principios del siglo XII, supuso un retroceso en el fenómeno urbano, con el abandono definitivo de una parte de la ciudad, el Pla d'Almatà. Este hecho nos ha permitido tener actualmente uno de los principales yacimientos arqueológicos de época árabe de la Península Ibérica.

Los siglos XII y XIII parecen ser siglos de estancamiento urbano, de reconstrucción y repoblación, destacando la edificación del cenobio cisterciense de les Franqueses, a orillas del Segre, a unos tres kilómetros de la ciudad aguas abajo.

El siglo XIV supone un momento de expansión urbana y embellecimiento de la ciudad; se inician grandes obras de construcción: el edificio de Santa María la Mayor, el puente gótico, la ampliación de las murallas... y la construcción de la Judería.

A inicios del siglo XV se vivieron en Balaguer momentos políticos que tendrían graves repercusiones en la política de toda la Corona Catalano-Aragonesa, y que supusieron el final del Condado de Urgell. A nivel urbanístico, la ciudad se estancó. Y gracias a este hecho ha llegado a nosotros la trama urbana de la ciudad medieval.

El objetivo nuestro estudio es el de intentar resolver y aclarar una serie de problemas históricos a partir de la utilización de diferentes métodos o disciplinas de investigación.

Las excavaciones arqueológicas y el estudio de un único yacimiento difícilmente permitirían al investigador resolver la mayor parte de las preguntas referentes a la interrelación existente entre éste y el territorio que lo rodea, aunque por otro lado nos es sobradamente conocida la imposibilidad de intervenir arqueológicamente sobre la totalidad de asentamientos que comprende el mencionado territorio.

Esta misma imposibilidad ha favorecido la aparición de una serie de estudios de carácter global donde se combinan los resultados obtenidos por la arqueología junto con aquellos que son fruto del estudio de textos, documentos, catastros, parcelarios, fotos aéreas, etc...

De esta manera, nuestro trabajo parte del estudio documental de la evolución de la ciudad de Balaguer y su territorio dentro de un marco cronológico centrado principalmente en el periodo andalusí y de conquista feudal (ss. XI-XII), y también durante los siglos XIV y XV momentos en que la ciudad y el territorio de Balaguer adquirieron una importancia signifi-

cativa, fruto de vicisitudes de índole diversa y particular que acabarían marcando claras diferencias entre ésta y otras entidades de carácter similar dentro de un mismo ámbito geográfico.

Los resultados obtenidos por este estudio intentarán verificar o complementar en la medida posible los resultados obtenidos últimamente en diferentes campos de la investigación medieval y que atañen directamente a nuestro ámbito de trabajo² a pesar de la escasa información arqueológica disponible hasta el momento.

2 Marco geográfico-político.

2.1 Marco geográfico

La Marca Superior de al-Ándalus (*al-Tagr al-A'la*) era un espacio organizado que cumplía un papel defensivo importante respecto al resto de territorio, ya que ocupaba el sector más septentrional del mundo andalusí, y que por tanto se hallaba en contacto con los territorios cristianos, no reconocidos por el poder central. Este territorio incluía la mayor parte del valle del Ebro, entre las tierras navarras al oeste y los condados catalanes al este³.

Los tratados de los historiadores y geógrafos árabes nos indican que la Marca Superior estaba dividida en distritos. Una de las más completas relaciones de los distritos de la Marca Superior es la que aparece en la obra de Ahmad al-Razi⁴, a partir de la cual se deduce que estaba formada por los distritos de Tortosa, Tarragona, Lleida, Barbitaniya, Huesca, Tudela, Zaragoza, Calatayud y Barusa.

Balaguer formaba parte del distrito de Lleida, un distrito que las fuentes árabes limitaban con el distrito de Tarragona por el este y con el de Barbitaniya por el norte y oeste. La ciudad más importante del distrito era Lleida, su capital, pero también aparecen otros lugares destacados como Monzón, Mequinenza, Llorenç, Calasanz y Àger, junto con Balaguer y Fraga, inicialmente consideradas como fortalezas (*hisn*) pero que desde finales del siglo X, y sobre todo a partir del siglo XI, recibirán la calificación de ciudades (*madīna*).

Así pues, podríamos establecer que el distrito de Lleida estaba formado, por lo menos entre los siglos IX y X, por el territorio comprendido entre el río Cinca al oeste, la sierra del Montsec al norte, el valle del Ebro al sur, y los contrafuertes de las sierras pre-

² Nos referimos a los últimos estudios realizados por J.E. García Bisoca (vid. bibliografía) sobre la evolución del territorio del distrito andalusí de Lleida, uno de los espacios menos estudiados de la Marca Superior de al-Ándalus, junto con las últimas

intervenciones arqueológicas realizadas en el yacimiento del Pla d'Almatà (Balaguer).

³ Giral 1994, 27.

⁴ Lévi-Provençal 51-108.

litorales (sierra del Montsant, sierra de Prades, etc.) al este, siendo este último sector el peor conocido por lo que se refiere a sus límites⁵.

La conquista feudal de la zona a inicios del siglo XII, por parte de los condes de Urgell y Barcelona principalmente, llevó a la ciudad a su inclusión en el vasto Condado de Urgell que llegó a extenderse a mediados de siglo XII desde el Pirineo hasta el Pla d'Urgell. Este condado fue el más relevante de los condados catalanes después de el de Barcelona-Girona. Urgell comprendía, a mediados del siglo XII, un conjunto de territorios heterogéneos provenientes tanto de la acción colonizadora llevada a cabo por la Iglesia y los nobles, como de las campañas de conquista contra al-Andalus protagonizadas por los condes catalanes.

Balaguer se consolidó durante el siglo XIII como principal ciudad de este condado, fijando en ella los condes su residencia permanente.

2.2 Marco político

Aunque el siglo IX en al-Ándalus es un periodo caracterizado por fuertes tensiones, básicamente de orden interno, y que la presión feudal se dejaría sentir ligeramente hacia final de siglo, sabemos que se corresponde con un momento de consolidación y refuerzo de la frontera: en el distrito de Lleida, en el año 882 se fortificaron las murallas de su capital, afectadas por una incursión franca de principios de siglo; en el 897 se construyó el castillo (*hisn*) de Balaguer, y probablemente las murallas del castillo de Àger también pertenecen a este momento⁶.

La guerra civil (*fitna*), 1008-1031, y con ella la desaparición del califato y la aparición de numerosos estados independientes, – las taifas –, marcó el inicio de nuevos intentos de los condes catalanes para conquistar al-Ándalus. Durante el siglo XI y la primera mitad del XII se conquistará todo el territorio que hoy es Catalunya. La progresiva pérdida de poder de las taifas y sus continuas luchas entre sí, serían factores que acabarían favoreciendo el avance feudal.

Al norte del distrito de Lleida la crisis andalusí coincidió con la voluntad de conquista de los condes catalanes de Pallars, Urgell i Barcelona.

Los castillos cercanos a Balaguer como Llorenç, Castelló de Farfanya, Os de Balaguer, Algerri, Albesa y Almenar capitularán o serán conquistados durante el primer cuarto del siglo XII.⁷

Por otra parte, la ciudad de Balaguer será conquistada definitivamente el año 1105⁸, convirtiéndose en el último lugar que cederá por conquista militar ante el avance feudal; a partir de este momento en la política de conquista primará el pacto y capitulación.

Como ya hemos visto Balaguer fue incluida tras su conquista dentro del marco político y administrativo del Condado de Urgell. La ciudad se vio prácticamente abandonada hasta la capitulación de Lleida, la capital del distrito, en 1149. Los siglos XIII y XIV estuvieron marcados por las continuas pugnas nobiliarias y los alzamientos contra el poder real. Con la revolución del conde Jaume II contra el rey Fernando de Antequera se inició el proceso de extinción del Condado que culminó con el sitio a que fue sometida Balaguer en 1413 y con la total destrucción de la residencia del conde: el castillo de la ciudad.

3 La documentación escrita

3.1 Las fuentes latinas.

En primer lugar y a simple vista, destaca por encima de todo la abundancia y diversidad de las fuentes de origen feudal.

No obstante, la utilización de estas fuentes ha planteado y plantea todavía numerosos problemas a los investigadores, debido a que no debemos olvidar que estos textos fueron escritos y redactados por orden de los conquistadores y nuevos colonizadores cristianos, y por lo tanto desde una óptica totalmente subjetiva respecto a la sociedad anterior o conquistada, hecho que por si solo tiende a deformar y distorsionar la realidad andalusí. Con esto no tratamos de invalidar la utilización de estos documentos, pero sí de marcar la precaución con que el investigador debe tratar este hecho, abordando los textos con cautela, sin perder de vista quiénes fueron sus autores – los “vencedores” – y el motivo de su redacción, – la legitimación de los nuevos poderes que representan.

La información que nos proporcionan éstos documentos – aún faltando una revisión exhaustiva – es sin ninguna duda muy rica, ofreciéndonos la posibilidad de conocer, entre otros muchos aspectos, desde nuevos asentamientos y fortificaciones, hasta quienes fueron los implicados – directores y ejecutores – en el proceso de conquista y colonización, para acabar permitiéndonos redibujar este espacio fronterizo e intentar trazar su evolución.

⁵ Giralt 1994, nota 3 p. 27.

⁶ *Ibidem*, 26.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 27.

⁸ Es posible que con anterioridad a 1094, Balaguer ya hubiera sido ocupada por primera vez, aunque no de forma permanente.

Por lo que se refiere al carácter de los documentos estudiados hasta el momento, existe un amplio abanico, que pasa por las numerosas dotaciones y consagraciones de iglesias, donaciones, confirmaciones de donaciones, testamentos, juicios sobre propiedades y pertenencias, renunciaciones, bulas papales, concordias, infeudaciones, *convenientiae*, cesiones, encomiendas, ventas, permutas, cartas de población y franquicia,...entre otros.

La mayor parte de todos estos documentos parten de una clara y primera necesidad obvia: la de delimitar y establecer claramente la propiedad de unos bienes mayoritariamente inmuebles como son tierras, huertos, castillos, almunias, etc, dentro de un nuevo ámbito territorial recientemente conquistado y colonizado, aunque no desconocido.

Los protagonistas del proceso conquistador son varios: en primer lugar destacar las figuras de los condes de Urgell, de Barcelona y Pallars; seguidos por una serie de señores situados en un segundo nivel pero al mismo tiempo señalados como los verdaderos artífices *in situ* al proceso de conquista y repoblación; se trata de nombres como Arnau Mir de Tost, Ramon i Gombau de Ribelles, Arnau Pere de Ponts, Guitard Guillem de Meià,...; en el último nivel hallaríamos a aquellos que ocuparon *de facto* este nuevo espacio, entre ellos muchos de los que participaron en las luchas contra los musulmanes y acabaron recibiendo su recompensa en forma de tierra y bienes.

Cabe también destacar el papel realizado por la iglesia dentro de este proceso, como receptora en un primer momento de buena parte de los bienes capturados, o bien en un segundo periodo receptora de nuevo a través de los testamentos de señores y campesinos, y también en ocasiones como colaboradora material (con aportaciones económicas) del proceso de conquista. La representación eclesiástica recaía principalmente en los obispados de Urgell y Solsona, aunque también existen referencias a monasterios como Poblet, Sta. Maria de Gualter, S. Sadurní de Noya, S. Pere d'Osca.

3.2 La documentación municipal de los siglos XIV, XV y XVI

Existe en el Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Balaguer un importante fondo de documentación municipal que se inicia en el siglo XIV con el "Libre de Bans i Ordinacions de la Paheria de Balaguer". El mismo texto nos informa de que debido al mal estado en que se encontraba el precedente "Libre Vermeyll" de la Paheria se creyó necesario en 1354 confeccionar un nuevo "Llibre d'Ordenacions" que recogiera las leyes contenidas en el primero y actualizara otros aspectos

de la legislación municipal. Así el libro que ha llegado a nosotros recoge las leyes anteriores a 1313 y añade algunas nuevas. Hoy nos es imposible distinguir entre unas y otras. El mismo documento contiene algunas "ordinacions" de principios del siglo XV. El documento contiene referencias puntuales a datos urbanos que son muy interesantes para nuestro estudio.

Los "Llibres d'estima" son censos de bienes muebles e inmuebles de los habitantes y propietarios de la ciudad que ordenaba confeccionar el "Consell" de la ciudad con una finalidad puramente fiscal.⁹ Del siglo XV se conservan tres "llibres d'estima" el de 1412-13, el de 1435 y el de 1430-40. Para el siglo XVI el de 1506-1507, el de 1508-1509 y el de 1588. Son estos documentos los que nos aportarán una mayor información sobre la estructuración de los espacios urbanos y en general sobre su morfología.

Se ha partido del estudio del "llibre d'estima" de 1588. Este libro está ordenado por calles y va siguiendo un recorrido lógico casa por casa en toda la ciudad. Hemos utilizado "estimes" de finales del siglo XVI porque esto nos permitía tener un punto intermedio de referencia entre la documentación moderna, muy abundante en el Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Balaguer, y la fragmentada e incompleta documentación medieval. Se trata además de un momento en que la tradición y la toponimia podían aún ofrecernos datos reveladores en cuanto a edificios singulares o espacios públicos antiguos. A partir de la reconstrucción de la planta catastral de la ciudad en 1588 se ha intentado desvelar la organización urbana de la ciudad medieval, en base al resto de documentación escrita y a la escasa información arqueológica de que disponemos.

4 La ciudad y el término según las fuentes latinas de los siglos XI-XII

La visión que nos ofrecen las fuentes latinas de los siglos XI-XII sobre la ciudad y el término de Balaguer oscila desde lo que se considera como una simple referencia o límite territorial a inicios del siglo XI, hasta un mayor conocimiento de éstos fruto del inicio de la política intervencionista de parias, que conllevará el acercamiento de fronteras y al mismo tiempo una clara necesidad por parte de los cristianos de poder marcar y delimitar sobre el territorio las diversas donaciones que se sucederán a partir de este momento.

La documentación también nos ofrece una visión sobre los tipos de asentamiento que se desarrollaron en este periodo y en esta zona.

⁹ Turull 1990, 443-448

5 La ciudad según la documentación municipal bajomedieval

La documentación bajomedieval por su parte, nos ofrece gran cantidad de información sobre la morfología de la ciudad: calles, plazas, edificios, mercados, molinos, industrias... Sin embargo se trata de una información desordenada que requiere un proceso de reorganización y estudio.

6 Campañas arqueológicas

Desde finales de los años sesenta se han llevado a cabo campañas de excavación arqueológica en la ciudad. El estado de ruina en que se hallaban los muros de la zona este del castillo y el peligro que ello representaba para las viviendas ubicadas en las terrazas inferiores, hizo necesaria una intervención urgente del Ayuntamiento de la ciudad. Al efectuar una rasa aparecieron los primeros restos de la antigua Suda musulmana: restos de yeserías decoradas, alicatados, cerámicas... A inicios de los setenta se realizaron varias campañas arqueológicas que descubrieron algunas estructuras. De estos trabajos destacan los que realizó Christian Ewert y sus estudios sobre las yeserías islámicas¹⁰. La constitución del nuevo Museo Comarcal de la Noguera en el año 1983, marcó el reinicio de las campañas arqueológicas. Se siguieron inicialmente tres líneas de intervención arqueológica: en el castillo o Suda islámica se llevarán a cabo diversas campañas entre los años 1983-1988.

En el Pla d'Almatà se iniciaron los trabajos con una campaña de urgencia por unas obras que se realizaban allí y que quedaron abortadas debido a la riqueza y importancia de los restos hallados. Esto motivó abrir una nueva línea de investigación e intervención. Durante el periodo 1983-1991 se realizaron excavaciones en la zona Noroeste del yacimiento poniendo al descubierto un barrio de alfareros. Des de 1992, se está excavando en la zona Suroeste donde han aparecido restos de un barrio residencial y de una necrópolis.¹¹

Una tercera línea de intervenciones arqueológicas, sujeta a excavaciones con carácter de urgencia, a salvamentos o documentación de restos, está abierta en la ciudad, en los antiguos barrios de el Torrent, el Pla y la Judería. Durante los años 1984 y 1987 se realizaron intervenciones arqueológicas en la Plaza de Sant Salvador donde se documentó una necrópolis

de la que no se tenía constancia documental.¹² Finalmente en 1992 se realizaron sondeos arqueológicos en la Plaza Mercadal.

7 Metodología de trabajo para el estudio de la evolución urbana de la ciudad

Primeramente hemos basado nuestro trabajo en el estudio de la documentación escrita conservada de los periodos ya citados, y debido a la gran cantidad de datos que estas fuentes generan se ha optado por su sistematización a partir de bases de datos informatizadas, de manera que nos permitan archivar y ordenar de la forma más rápida posible estos datos.

La utilización del soporte informático en formato de bases de datos no sólo actúa como archivador sino que ofrece la posibilidad de relacionar todos los campos necesarios, cosa que nos facilita substancialmente su análisis y accesibilidad, permitiendo al mismo tiempo una rápida visualización y comparación de los resultados.

Paralelamente al soporte informático se ha utilizado el cartográfico, a partir del cual se ha intentado localizar o aproximar la situación de las diversas entidades estudiadas.

Finalmente los resultados obtenidos se han contrastado con la información arqueológica de que disponemos a fin de completar el estudio.

8 Bibliografía

- D'ABADAL R. 1980: *Els primers comtes catalans, Història de Catalunya*, Vicens-Vives (=Biografies catalanes 1).
- EWERT C. 1979: *Hallazgos islámicos en Balaguer y la Aljafería de Zaragoza*, Colección Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España. Núm. 97, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y cultural. Comisaria nacional del Patrimonio Artístico y cultural.
- GARCIA BIOSCA J.E. 1993: *Formes d'ús i ocupació de l'espai al Segrià en època andalusina: l'òptica de les fonts llatines*, Memòria de Llicenciatura, Departament d'Història Medieval, Paleografia i Diplomàtica, Universitat de Barcelona.
- GIRALT J. 1994: *Catalunya Romànica*, La Noguera, vol. XVII, Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona.
- GIRALT J, BENSENSY J. & CAMÍ A. 1995: Inter-

¹⁰ Ewert 1979.

¹¹ Giralt, Benseny & Camí 1995, 107-124

¹² Giralt 1994, 245-247

- vencions Arqueològiques al Pla d'Almatà (Balaguer. La Noguera), *Tribuna d'Arqueologia* 1993-1994, 107-124.
- LÉVI-PROVENÇAL E., La "Description de l'Espagne" d'Ahmad al-Razi, *Al-Andalus* XVIII.
- TURULL M. 1990: *La configuració jurídica del Municipi Baix Medieval. Règim Municipal i Fiscalitat a Cervera entre 1182-1430*, ed. Fundació Noguera, Colección Textos i Documents 24, Barcelona.

Carme Alòs, Josep Giralt & Josep Tugues
Museu Comarcal de la Noguera
Sant Josep, 2
25600 Balaguer (Lleida)
Espanya

João António Ferreira Marques

The Evolution of the urbanisation Process in the City of Lisbon, Portugal, 15th to 18th centuries

Summary

The paper discusses the economical and political transformations which took place in Portugal and their close relationship with the urbanistic development of the city from the end of the Middle Ages to the earthquake of the 1st of November of 1755 which destroyed Lisbon, almost completely Lisbon. Geographical analysis and recent archaeological data allow us to reconstruct the continuous evolution of the occupation of the city.

1 Introduction

Lisbon always was more than a regional urban structure. Located on the top of a hill, which allows it to overlook its surroundings, the city is bordered on its western flank by an ancient river branch and on its southern side by the river Tagus itself. It has a wide natural port which constitutes a mid-way stop between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.

The ancient citadel was fortified, presumably by Luso-Romans who probably built the original walls. Later, in the 8th century, with the Islamic invasion and rule, a big wall known as the *Cerca Moura* was built to secure the residential neighbourhoods, leaving the industrial activities such as pottery production outside the fortified area.

The conquest of the city in 1147 by king D. Afonso Henriques, who was supported by the crusaders going to the Holy Land, changed all urbanistic relations through dividing Lisbon in several neighbourhoods, each of which corresponded to a cultural, religious and judicial entity and community. Examples of this are the Jewish neighbourhood or *Judiaria*, and the Moorish neighbourhood or *Mouraria*, as they are still known today.

At the end of the 15th century, these communities were expelled from the kingdom, leaving gaps in the urban structure of the city as well as in the different trades and craft occupations.

Throughout the whole of the 14th century, Lisbon was a city compressed by its own walls and in urgent

need of a plan for expansion. In the Age of Discoveries, a royal urbanistic scheme would put this in operation and consolidate the city.

As we speak, the city is still changing, going through continuous transformations of its urban structure and facing the challenges of time.

2 The Two-Walls-Period

The continuous expansion of the city which spilled over outside its walls led to the development of suburbs which were unprotected and exposed to pirates. Therefore, at the end of the 13th century, king D. Dinis, enclosed the open lower city with a new wall called *Muralha da Ribeira* in order to assure its protection against threats from the side of river Tagus (1294).

The *Baixa* occupied an ancient river bed which had been covered with earth. The new streets such as *Rua Nova* street which became the centre of the commercial activities, became more urban in nature.

But the city was still left too exposed to attacks over land, as shown by the events of 1372 when the army of Henrique II de Castela partially destroyed these new urban structures outside the walls.

In 1372, King D. Fernando I started the construction of the wall which was named after him the *Cerca Fernandina*. It was completed at 1375. Once again all the urban structures were integrated within the area enclosed by defensive walls.

Since the early times of the construction of the Islamic castle, the highest levels of the administration were located in the heart of the castle, inside of the *Alcáçova*. When the Christians conquered the city, this particular site was taken over as the political centre of the ruling power, and even in the 15th century, the king still lived there.

By this time, innovations in warfare strategy technology and the development of new weapons such as the artillery had made the defensive concept of city walls obsolete. As a means of protection, their utility had been depreciated, and the expansion outside the

walls, resulting from a growing population, was possible.

In the period of the maritime discoveries, the city was still trying to start its transformation, notably through the reconversion of the activities into a precise cluster of spatial development. Its priority, however, was to obtain precious metals which at that time were scarce in Europe. Maritime travel and exploration in every possible related field were used to achieve this. But the infrastructure which corresponded to the needs of the commercial community did not accompany this development.

3 The River Side City

Since early times, the river was a factor of economic development, providing a natural port with connections with the Mediterranean world and the European Atlantic coast. But it was not until 1498 that a true pier was projected.

By 1498, king D. Manuel I became actively involved in these fields and conceived in a detailed way the great renovation which would accompany the third phase of the Portuguese overseas expansion: the search for the maritime road to India, looking for the spices of the Indian subcontinent.

Later, king D. Manuel I conquered the waters of the Tagus river, converting the river-bed into dry land. He changed palaces moving to a newly built palace known as *Paço da Ribeira*, where he eventually died. This palace, which was destroyed in the earthquake of 1755, was located near the Tagus river, close to the shipyards and warehouses and to all the major administration buildings linked with the newly formed overseas empire. This complex included buildings such as the *Casa da Mina*, related to the African trade in gold, ivory and slaves, and the *Casa da Índia*, related to the trade in spices.

Long before, the adjacent areas had been occupied by artisans such as blacksmiths, but the main activity was naval construction. Here, in the *Arsenal da Ribeira das Naus*, were built *naus novas e correimento delas, e caravelas e navios e barcas e batéis e galeões e galés, fustas e zavras*¹, for the support of the spice trade to India (*Carreira da Índia*)².

With this reform, an important area of the city was urbanised and organized in function of the requirements for overseas travel and exploration.

The new palace, centre of a commercial and maritime Empire, housed the warehouses of the *Casa da Mina* and of the *Casa da Índia*, concentrating the political and economical administration of the kingdom in a single building complex.

4 The city of the Filipines

With Portugal losing its independence in 1580, king Filipe II of Spain became ruler of the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. He left the national government to a Portuguese secretary.

The centre of power was maintained in riverside area, and to allow for royal visits a tower was built: it was the *Torre Filipina* (1584), located just on the edge of the Tagus and dominating the grand plaza - the *Terreiro do Paço* - from where the city expanded like in an amphitheatre. It also was a symbol of power, even of a distant power, of the ruler. The tower was destroyed by the earthquake of 1755, but the plaza was maintained and still exists today as an important interface between the river and the city.

But noble families, also built their own palaces close to the river and close to the king's palace. Thus, for instance, the Corte-Real family (1585). They marked the structure of later palaces with their Spanish style and architectonic features.

The development of the new areas in the *Bairro Alto* and *Mocambo* in the early 1500 was combined with a strict legislation. It included the division of the areas into square plots and further construction works throughout the 16th to 18th century, resulting in providing the neighbourhoods with a square organisation pattern.

5 Two powers and Lisbon

With the restoration of the independence of Portugal, a new dynasty - the *Bragança* - took over in 1640, with the support of the nobles. They ruled during the years of war with the Spanish (1640-1668), in the Peninsula, and with the French and Dutch. These wars were linked with the colonies, such as Brazil, Angola, and other possessions in the Orient.

This was a period of new palaces which emerged all over the city and which reflected the vitality of the noble class. But the excessive power of this social group collided with the power of the king..

¹ RAMOS, Paulo de Oliveira - "Porto de Lisboa" in *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1994, pp. 724-727.

² The quote refers to the various types of naval vessels that were built by this Arsenal, such as, merchant ships, warships, and other small ships.

King D. João V, who ruled between 1706-1750, began to centralise the power in royal hands. Virtually, he was the first absolutist king. At this time the Brazilian gold was a main source of income of the Treasury. This surplus made it possible to start great and extensive public works, in what we could call a *festival of power display*. This phase was also marked by many ephemeral works by Italian architects, which marked the day-to-day standard of the people living at that time. Lisbon even had the most remarkable piece of engineering of its time: the great aqueduct, constructed to minimise the scarcity of water within the city.

At the time of the great earthquake of 1755, the ancient noble class had been eliminated – to some extent even physically – and absolute power was in the king's hands. A new city would emerge from the ashes of the fire: a city which compromised with the ideals of *The Age of Enlightenment*.

6 A view from the Present.

Until the 1980s, archaeological fieldwork in Lisbon was limited to a few exceptional interventions such as those linked with the construction of the subway in the 1960s or the work on the Roman theatre.

Until some time ago, there was no city department responsible for archaeology. But the central administration concerned with the cultural heritage created an attitude which took a more positive view of intervention. This has become a more systematic approach since the early 1990s and it has allowed for rescuing and reading some of the subsoil records of the city.

Some of the fieldwork carried out so far offers evidence for the previous material world, including street remains, house structures, sewer remains, and a better general understanding of the past of Lisbon. These archaeological sites provide a broad record of the occupation history, ranging in some cases as far back as the Iron age and providing us with elements of the continuous occupation of the urban structure.

At this time, we can conclude that the Roman orientation and pattern of the urban structures was not followed by the subsequent occupations, such as the Islamic one. The latter occupied the same structures but converted them in something new, with a Mediterranean organisation including narrow streets, private patios and closed streets.

The Christian city continued this trend until the 16th century. Then, another hill, close to the valley, started to be constructed. This is the *Bairro Alto* and the construction was subject to strict rules of organisation.

In some ways, this anticipated the rules applied to the reconstruction of the lower city, as reflected by

squared streets and the 'padronization' of the building measures and construction materials.

7 Final considerations

Lisbon did not die with the 1755 earthquake, but a significant part of disappeared for all time. Together with many other things such as records and documents, a whole part of the urban memory vanished.

But the use of space changed, as did people and habits.

Today, the real challenge is to discover one day the ancient cities that lived here before, in this very same place, one day.

Bibliography

Literary Sources

- GÓIS Damião de, *Descrição da Cidade de Lisboa* (1554), Lisboa, 1988.
- HOLANDA Francisco de, *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa* (1571), Lisboa, 1984.
- VASCONCELOS Luis Mendes de, *Do Sítio de Lisboa, Diálogos* (1608), Lisboa, 1990.
- AMARO C. *et al.*, A Baixa Pré-Pombalina: Alguns Aspectos Urbanísticos, in: *Actas das V Jornadas de Arqueológicas*, Lisboa, 1993, 227-237.
- BRANCO F. CASTELO, *Breve História da Oisipografia*, Lisboa, 1980.
- CARVALHO G. DE, Bairro Alto, in: *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1994, 124-125.
- CASTILHO J. DE, *Lisboa Antiga. Bairros Orientais*, 2ª edição, I volume, Lisboa, 1935.
- CASTILHO J. DE, *A Ribeira de Lisboa*, Vol. II-V.
- FERREIRA M.J., Madragoa (Bairro da), in: *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1994, 553-555.
- FRANCA J.A., *A Reconstrução de Lisboa e a Arquitectura Pombalina*, 3ª edição, Lisboa, 1989.
- FRANCA J.A., *Lisboa: Urbanismo e Arquitectura*, 2ª edição, Lisboa, 1989.
- MARQUES J.A. *et al.*, Acompanhamento das Obras do Metropolitano de Lisboa: Intervenção Arqueológica na Avenida Ribeira das Naus, in: *Actas do 3.º Encontro de Arqueologia Urbana*, Almada, 1997 (no prelo).
- OLIVEIRA E.F. DE, *Elementos Para a História do Município de Lisboa*, Tomo VII e XVII, Lisboa, 1911.
- RAMOS P. DE OLIVEIRA, Porto de Lisboa, in: *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1994, 724-727.
- REIS A.E. DOS, Arsenal da Marinha (Antigo), in: *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1994, 94.

SANTANA F., *Lisboa na Segunda Metade do Século XVIII*, 64-65.

SOROMENHO M., Paço da Ribeira, in: *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1994, 676-678.

SILVA A. VIEIRA DA, *A Cerca Moura de Lisboa*, 3ª edição, Lisboa, 1987.

SILVA A. VIEIRA DA, *As Muralhas da Ribeira de Lisboa*, Vol. I-II, 3.ª edição, Lisboa, 1987.

VVAA, *Guia Urbanístico e Arquitectónico de Lisboa*, Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses, Lisboa, 1987.

Zbyszewski G., *Carta Geológica dos Arredores de Lisboa na Escala 1/50.000, Notícia Explicativa da Folha 4, Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1963.

João António Ferreira Marques
Faculdade de Letras
Universidade de Lisboa
Urb. Portela, Lote 67, 1.º Esq.
2685 Portela LRS
Portugal

J. F. Murillo, R. Hidalgo, J.R. Carrillo, A. Vallejo & A. Ventura

Córdoba: 300-1236 d.c., un milenio de transformaciones urbanas

1 Los antecedentes

La ciudad es un fenómeno universal a toda sociedad culturalmente avanzada y marco referencial básico en el que se reflejan las formaciones sociales que las han creado, conservado, destruido y, en definitiva, transformado. Por tanto, la ciudad es la materialización de un proceso histórico que puede analizarse tanto desde la sincronía, atendiendo a la profundización en la investigación de las diversas facetas que marcan y definen cada uno de los múltiples ciclos urbanos, como desde la diacronía que determina *la longue durée* y el análisis de los elementos estructurantes de esos ciclos urbanos en su globalidad. Desde esta perspectiva, y entendiendo la ciudad como el resultado de un proceso histórico enmarcado en un espacio en el que se han establecido distintas relaciones dialécticas entre el ámbito urbano y su entorno no urbano, consideramos que el caso de Córdoba puede resultar paradigmático al ejemplificar las transformaciones experimentadas por una ciudad del Suroeste de Europa desde el comienzo de la Antigüedad Tardía hasta el fin de la Edad Media.

Aunque la frecuentación humana del entorno de la futura Córdoba se remonta al Paleolítico Inferior

Arcaico, no será hasta el tercer milenio a.C. cuando se inicie el proceso de fijación de la población en un núcleo que sólo a partir de los inicios del primer milenio a.C. podemos considerar como dotado de funciones claramente urbanas. Esta *Corduba* prerromana llegó a ocupar una extensión superior a las 50 ha. (Fig. 1: a), constituyendo uno de los principales centros tartésicos y turdetanos del Valle del Guadalquivir.

La presencia romana en el Sur de *Hispania* pronto contó en *Corduba* con uno de sus baluartes principales. La ciudad romana, fundada en el segundo cuarto del s. II a.C se establece 800 m. al NE. de la primitiva ciudad turdetana (Fig. 1: a), con la que coexistirá a lo largo de más de un siglo hasta el definitivo abandono de ésta a comienzos del s. I a.C. La continuidad entre ambas ciudades se realizó mediante la paulatina integración de la población indígena en la ciudad romana y a través de la adopción del nombre prerromano de aquélla: *Corduba*. Localizada entre el curso de dos arroyos que la flanqueaban por

Fig. 1: a. - Ubicación de la Corduba prerromana (1) y de la fundación de Claudio Marcelo (2), asentamientos que coexistirán durante el s. II a.C.

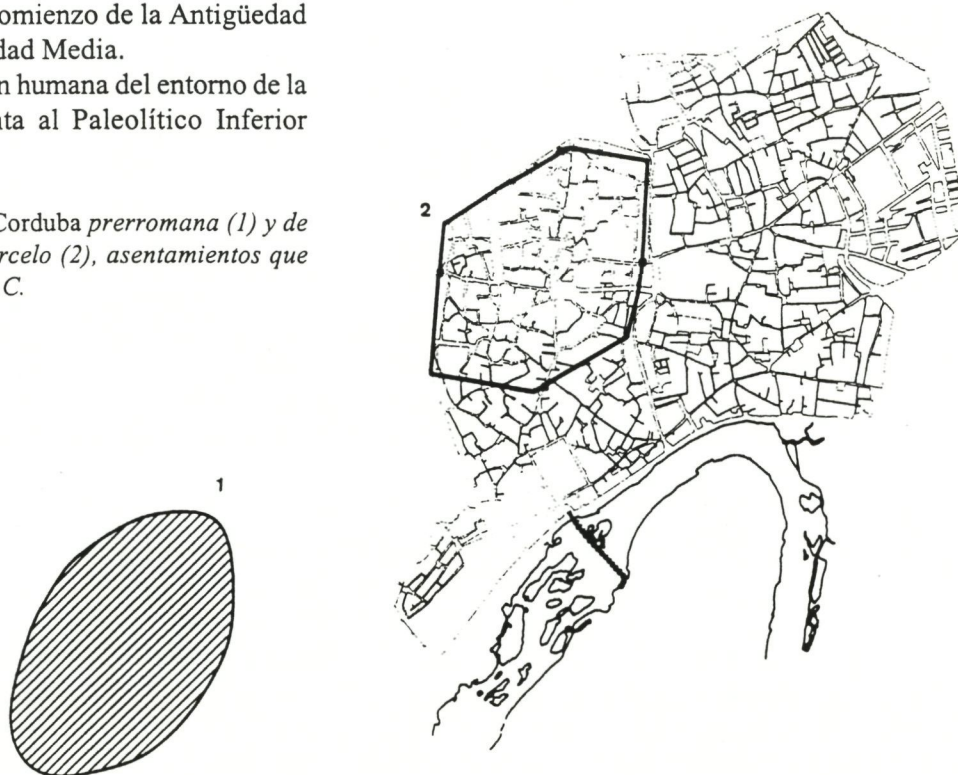




Fig. 1: b. - Colonia Patricia a finales del s. I d.C., tras la ampliación augustea y los programas edilicios julio-claudios y flavios.

- 1: Puente;
- 2: "Foro Colonial";
- 3: "Foro Provincial";
- 4: Teatro y Anfiteatro (ubicación hipotética);
- 5: Templo de la C/ Claudio Marcelo y posible circo;
- 6: principales necrópolis tardor-republicanas y altoimperiales.

el Este y por el Oeste, y sobre el escarpe que descendía hacia el río, el recinto amurallado fundacional abarcaba un perímetro de unos 2.650 m. y una superficie de 47.6 ha (Murillo & Vaquerizo 1996).

2 El punto de partida: la ciudad altoimperial

La imagen urbana de la Córdoba romana, capital de facto de la provincia *Baetica* desde un momento impreciso del s. II a.C. y denominada oficialmente como *Colonia Patricia* desde época de Augusto, se encontraba prácticamente configurada en el tránsito del siglo I al II d.C. Tras la profunda destrucción sufrida a manos de las tropas cesarianas en el 45 a.C., la refundación augustea aumentó el recinto urbano hacia el río (Ventura *et alii* 1996), alcanzando una superficie de 79 ha. Este perímetro amurallado se convertirá desde entonces en el corazón histórico de la ciudad, manteniéndose inmutable en su delimitación hasta la actualidad (Fig. 1: b).

Sin embargo, y al menos desde época flavia, los límites de las murallas ya habían sido rebasados, constituyéndose suburbios residenciales al Oeste, Norte y Este, urbanizándose áreas que hasta entonces habían estado ocupadas por necrópolis alineadas a lo largo de las vías que penetraban en la ciudad (Murillo & Carrillo. 1996) y por áreas fabriles (Fig. 2: a).

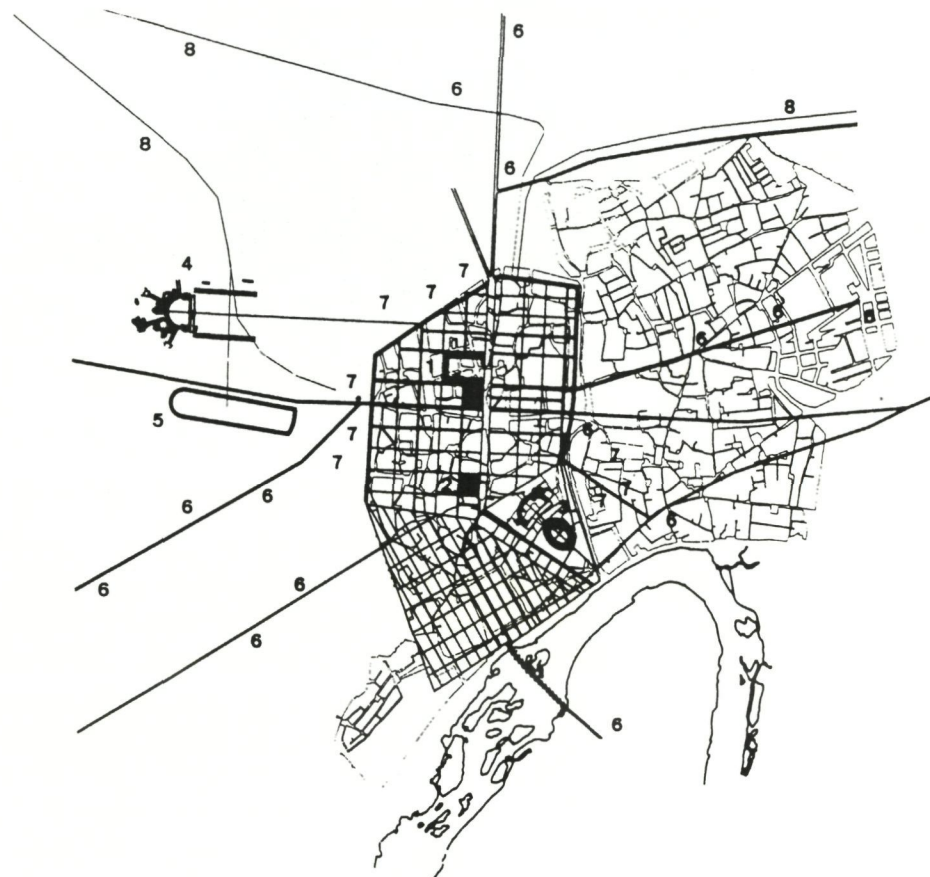
Una semblanza, por apretada que fuera, del urbanismo de *Colonia Patricia* rebasaría con mucho los propósitos de este trabajo, razón por la que remitimos a las recientes aportaciones de conjunto de Carrillo *et alii* 1995, Ventura *et alii* 1996 y Ventura 1996, limítndonos aquí a esbozar las líneas básicas del mismo.

Colonia Patricia presenta una ordenación regular articulada por un gran cardo que atraviesa la parte septentrional de la ciudad desde una puerta ubicada en su extremo hasta el límite con la ampliación augustea, donde se bifurca en dos trazados: uno que adaptándose al quiebro en la orientación de la trama conduce a la puerta abierta en la embocadura del puente, y otro que delimita un sector suroriental destinado a "barrio de espectáculos". Tres puertas se abrían en cada uno de los lienzos oriental y occidental de las murallas, una en la parte septentrional, que daba acceso a los dos principales decumanos, y dos en la ampliación augustea.

Los principales centros de la administración, tanto local como de la provincia *Baetica*, se situaban en la parte septentrional, en el foro colonial y en el foro provincial (ubicado al menos desde finales del s. II en la zona conocida por Altos de Santa Ana). Por contra, en el sector suroriental, fruto de la ampliación augustea, se localizaba un barrio de espectáculos en el que ya se ha documentado el teatro e identificado la probable ubicación del anfiteatro

Fig. 2: a. - Colonia Patricia a finales del s. III d.C.

- 1: "Foro Colonial";
- 2: "Foro Provincial";
- 3: "Barrio de espectáculos";
- 4: Palacio de Maximiano Hercúleo;
- 5: Circo;
- 6: principales necrópolis bajoimperiales;
- 7: barrios residenciales extramuros.



Por último, investigaciones en curso en el sector del antiguo Convento de San Pablo, inmediatamente al Oeste del Templo de la C/ Claudio Marcelo (cfr. Jiménez 1992 y 1996) están poniendo de relieve determinadas estructuras y elementos articuladores del territorio que permiten plantear la ubicación en este sector extramuros de un gran edificio de espectáculos (circo) vinculado con el programa edilicio del citado templo, conformando un conjunto de culto imperial paralelo a los de *Tarraco* o *Ancyra*.

3 La ciudad bajoimperial y tardoantigua: adaptación y mutación

Ya en el s. III empiezan a advertirse los primeros síntomas de lo que será la transformación de la ciudad en época bajoimperial y tardoantigua, acusada incluso en los espacios públicos. De este modo, en el conocido como foro de los Altos de Santa Ana y en lo que hasta entonces había sido espacio abierto, se construye un nuevo edificio. Esta construcción, que quizás pudo corresponder a un recinto de culto dedicado a Artemis-Diana, incorpora ya elementos reaprovechados. Muy poco después, en el s. IV, el edificio se abandona y el carácter público de este espacio desaparece, siendo ocupado por una sencilla unidad doméstica (Ventura 1991, 263-264; León *et alii* 1991, 163-164).

Algo similar ocurre en otro de los más destacados espacios públicos de la ciudad altoimperial, como fue el templo de la calle Claudio Marcelo. En un momento avanzado del s. III el pórtico que rodeaba el templo había perdido parte de las columnas que lo sustentaban y parte de su enlosado. Los materiales procedentes de esta estructura recibieron el pobre destino de servir para confeccionar la cubierta de una cloaca (Jiménez & Ruíz 1995, 136). Como ocurría en el caso anterior, en el s. IV nos encontramos con que este importante enclave de la ciudad ha perdido su función primigenia y se ocupa con nuevas construcciones, probablemente también de carácter doméstico. Una circunstancia similar vuelve a repetirse en el fastuoso complejo urbanístico que rodea al teatro construido en época altoimperial. Aquí se ha comprobado que en un momento avanzado del s. III dejan de realizarse las labores de mantenimiento necesarias para el buen uso de este espacio, sin que en el estado actual de la investigación haya constancia de la incorporación de construcciones de carácter doméstico en lo que fueron amplios espacios abiertos de carácter público, situados en torno al mencionado edificio de espectáculos.

Ahora bien, no ocurre lo mismo en el conocido como foro colonial. En este caso contamos con la documentación proporcionada por el ambiente epigráfico, conformado por ciertos pedestales honoríficos destinados a soportar sendas estatuas (Arce 1977-78, 259-



Fig. 2: b. - Corduba en la segunda mitad del s. VI d.C. La línea gruesa marca el trazado de la muralla y los cuadrados la ubicación de las puertas. 0: enterramientos intramuros; 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 y 10: iglesias; 4: basilica de San Vicente; 5: Iglesia de los Tres Santos; 8: Basilica de San Acisclo; 11: palacio de los gobernadores visigodos.

262), dedicadas a diversos emperadores del s. IV por importantes funcionarios de la administración de la diócesis. La presencia de estas tres inscripciones, dedicadas en concreto por tres gobernadores, permite suponer que, a diferencia de lo que ocurría en los casos anteriores, aquí sí se mantuvieron las funciones públicas, al menos durante la primera mitad del s. IV.

Hasta ahora, y ante la ausencia de otros criterios, este proceso de abandono de gran parte de las áreas públicas de la ciudad se había achacado a la crisis de las instituciones ciudadanas o, sobre todo, a la pérdida de la capitalidad de la provincia en favor de *Hispalis* durante el s. IV. Sin embargo, el reciente hallazgo en el perímetro del recinto amurallado de un amplio conjunto palatino, cuya construcción supuso una importante transformación de la ciudad, tanto en lo referente a la distribución de los espacios representativos como en lo concerniente a su propia imagen, permite replantear la cuestión en nuevos términos (Hidalgo 1996a).

El edificio en cuestión alcanza considerables dimensiones, superando los cuatrocientos metros de longitud por doscientos metros de anchura. Presenta un original diseño organizado gracias a un criptopórtico semicircular, en torno al cual se distribuyen las distintas estancias que conforman el conjunto, caracterizadas por la incorporación de grandes salas de recepción o audiencia. De ellas cabe destacar muy especialmente aquella situada en el culmen del eje, cuya planta se adapta a la propia de las salas de audiencia imperial de época tetrárquica, con su paralelo más cercano en el aula palatina de *Trier*.

Del análisis de las distintas evidencias con que contamos en relación con el monumento, se deduce que el edificio en su concepción original constituyó el palacio y sede del emperador Maximiano Hercúleo, en relación con su presencia en *Hispania* entre los años 296-297 y con los preparativos de la campaña pacificadora que inmediatamente después le conduciría al Norte de África.

Uno de los muchos aspectos que llaman la atención en relación con este edificio es su disposición fuera del recinto amurallado. La razón de esta elección radica en la presencia de un circo preexistente situado inmediatamente al Sur, que habría condicionado la construcción del nuevo edificio en las inmediaciones, siguiendo las pautas habituales en los grandes complejos palatinos de época tetrárquica (Hidalgo 1996b). A su vez, el palacio habría englobado al antiguo edificio de espectáculos en el nuevo complejo, procediéndose con probabilidad a su reconstrucción o monumentalización.

Sin lugar a dudas la incorporación del esquema palacio-circo a la imagen de la Córdoba bajoimperial constituyó el gran hito que transformó la fisonomía de la ciudad en ese momento y que supuso la gravitación de los centros de poder desde sus enclaves tradicionales dentro del recinto amurallado al nuevo palacio situado extramuros, que no sólo tendría la vocación de absorber las funciones públicas, sino también la de atraer las residencias de todos aquellos personajes que, gracias a su posición económica, empiezan en estos momentos a abandonar la ciudad, construyendo sus nuevas residencias en las inmediaciones.

Sea como fuere y a pesar del impulso revitalizador que supuso la construcción del palacio de Cercadilla, lo cierto es que entre los siglos III y IV la ciudad se ve sumida en una transformación progresiva, que anuncia los nuevos cambios que traerá consigo la Antigüedad Tardía. En este sentido, las labores de mantenimiento que permitían el buen uso de la infraestructura urbana, poco a poco dejan de realizarse: ya no se sanean las cloacas, que comienzan a colmatarse paulatinamente, del mismo modo que los pavimentos de las calles comienzan a deteriorarse, desapareciendo parte de su enlosado, etc.

Algo muy similar ocurre con la edificación privada. Muy pocas son las nuevas casas que se construyen a partir de estos momentos. Las evidencias con que contamos al respecto se reducen en gran medida a los mosaicos. A partir de estos elementos se puede observar que durante el s. III existe todavía una considerable actividad edilicia, que se ve ya muy mermada una vez iniciado el s. IV (Blázquez 1981, 13-56 y Guardia Pons 1993, 175-188). La tónica general para estas fechas sería sin duda la perduración y reutilización de las casas de los siglos anteriores.

No obstante, la degeneración de la vivienda aumenta progresivamente, de manera que, ya en el s. V, se ocupan los pórticos de las calles con sencillos espacios de habitación (Hidalgo 1993, 109). Del mismo modo, a partir de estos momentos las construcciones presentan una progresiva degradación técnica, recurriendo en gran medida a la reutilización en precario de todo tipo de materiales procedentes de las edificaciones anteriores.

Este proceso va unido también al paulatino despoilamiento del espacio intramuros. Poco a poco disminuyendo el número de ciudadanos afincados en terreno urbano y grandes áreas de la ciudad quedan sin edificar, utilizadas posiblemente como simples huertas o vertederos. Como consecuencia de ello, en el siglo VI nos encontramos con un fenómeno que pocos siglos antes habría sido inadmisible: la aparición de enterramientos en el interior del recinto amurallado, en concreto en el sector Norte de la ciudad.

La presencia de enterramientos en la zona Norte del perímetro amurallado (Fig. 2: b) está directamente relacionada con la concentración de los nuevos centros de poder de la ciudad tardoantigua en la zona Sur, en las inmediaciones del río, en especial en lo que se refiere a la construcción del palacio del gobernador visigodo en el solar que posteriormente ocupará el alcázar omeya y de la basílica de San Vicente —advocación que cuenta con ciertas connotaciones de culto estatal—, en el lugar que más tarde ocupará la Mezquita Aljama (Fig. 2: b, núm. 4). El abandono de la zona más alta del recinto intramuros, más fácil de defender, en favor de la aproximación al río, puede deberse al im-

portante papel que todavía podría estar desempeñando en estos momentos el río en la vida de los ciudadanos o, sobre todo, al interés estratégico que conlleva la protección del puente inmediato.

Ya en otro orden de cosas, no se debe soslayar la incidencia y repercusión que tuvo el cristianismo, a través de sus diferentes manifestaciones, en la imagen de la ciudad. Sin duda la difusión de este culto experimentó un importante desarrollo en la Córdoba del s. IV. Prueba de ello es la propia figura de Osio, obispo de Córdoba, que tras las persecuciones tetrárquicas desempeñó un destacado papel en la difusión y consolidación del cristianismo en el Imperio. A ello habría que añadir el importante grupo de sarcófagos del s. IV localizado en Córdoba (Sotomayor 1964, 1973 y 1975), uno de los conjuntos más relevantes de la Península Ibérica, importados de la propia Roma como flete de retorno de los barcos que conducirían a la *Urbs* los productos béticos. Estos sarcófagos dan fe de la existencia de una sólida aristocracia cristianizada en la Córdoba del s. IV, que constituye el substrato de aquella otra que, abanderada por la oposición al arrianismo visigodo, mantendrá viva la tradición hispanorromana y su independencia hasta un momento avanzado del s. VI.

De las iglesias construidas en la ciudad, elemento fundamental para el estudio de la implantación del culto y de la “cristianización” de la topografía urbana, prácticamente nada sabemos para los primeros momentos, así que es necesario remontarse a época visigoda para perfilar someramente su distribución (Fig. 2: b). En el interior del recinto amurallado indudablemente el enclave principal era la basílica de San Vicente, próxima al palacio visigodo y en las inmediaciones del río. También es posible que existiera otro recinto de culto hacia la zona central de la ciudad (Fig. 2: b, núm. 1), donde aparecieron multitud de ladrillos decorados, y en las inmediaciones una inscripción relacionada quizás con la fundación del mismo templo (CIL II²/7, 640).

Del mismo modo, un conjunto importante de ladrillos (González-Moreno 1997 e.p.) decorados se ha recuperado también en el cuadrante SW de la ciudad (Fig. 2: b, núm. 2), donde también se puede presumir la presencia de una iglesia de época tardoantigua. A ello habría que añadir el reciente hallazgo de un nuevo edificio de culto en el cuadrante SE de la ciudad, en el antiguo convento de Santa Clara (Fig. 2: b, núm. 3). Según los excavadores, nos encontramos ante una iglesia de planta de cruz inscrita, similar a otras de Constantinopla, Rávena, Palestina y, sobre todo, a la basílica de *Sa Carrotxa* (Marfil 1996). La misma planta aplicada, así como la decoración de uno de los mosaicos del edificio, fechado en los comedios del s. VI, han permitido suponer una fuerte influencia

bizantina para el edificio, reafirmando las más que presumibles relaciones mantenidas por la ciudad con el imperio bizantino, hasta su conquista definitiva por Leovigildo.

Fuera del recinto amurallado también se construyeron algunas iglesias, a las que se asocian sendas necrópolis densamente ocupadas. Ello supone una importante transformación de la concepción y función del espacio extramuros, de modo y manera que frente al uso funerario y doméstico -con la creación de varios *vici*-, que experimentara en épocas precedentes, se introduce ahora un novedoso uso, como es el cultural, con la incorporación de las nuevas iglesias, que determinarán y polarizarán la distribución de las necrópolis de época tardoantigua.

En relación con estos edificios, en el sector Este podemos identificar un primer espacio cultural en la zona ocupada por la actual iglesia de San Pedro y alrededores (Fig. 2: b, núm. 5), tradicionalmente asociada con la iglesia de los Tres Santos -Fausto, Genaro y Marcial- (vid. Flórez 1753, 329-332). En este mismo lugar apareció en el s. XVI una cripta y una inscripción, fechada en los siglos VI-VII, que alude a las reliquias de los mártires Fausto, Genaro, Marcial, Zoilo y Acisclo (IHC 126; ICERV, 324; CIL II²/7, 638), y donde también existe constancia de la aparición de un "cementerio paleocristiano" (Marcos & Vicent 1985, 242).

Más interesantes son los vestigios con que contamos para el sector Norte. En la zona de la Huerta de San Rafael se dispone una importante necrópolis que tiene su origen en época tardorrepública-julio-claudia, de la que procede el famoso sarcófago con la representación de las puertas del Hades (García y Bellido 1959). El uso "aristocrático" de esta necrópolis viene a ser confirmado por la presencia allí en época constantiniana del sarcófago paleocristiano con las representaciones del episodio de Jonás y la ballena, junto a otros enterramientos sencillos, también de época avanzada, en los que incluso se reutilizan elementos arquitectónicos de construcciones anteriores (Vicent 1972-74) y que evidencian la ocupación de este espacio funerario por otros grupos sociales. Algo más al Sur, en el Convento de la Merced (Fig. 2: b, núm. 6), en las inmediaciones de la puerta que conectaba con el que fuera el cardo máximo, se conserva una estructura de carácter hidráulico, que muy bien podría formar parte del baptisterio de una iglesia que se habría ubicado en el mismo lugar.

El panorama de las necrópolis y de los nuevos espacios de culto de la ciudad se ve finalmente completado con aquellos situados en el extremo Oeste. En primer lugar habría que hacer referencia a la aparición de varios enterramientos y gran cantidad de ladrillos decorados (Santos Gener 1955, 10) en las inmediaciones de la Facultad de Veterinaria (Fig. 2:

b, núm. 7). De los otros tres recintos localizados al Oeste, podríamos citar en primer lugar el propio palacio de Cercadilla (Fig. 2b, núm. 8), que se reutiliza como centro de culto cristiano al menos desde mediados del s. VI, la necrópolis localizada en el Cortijo de Chinales (Fig. 2: b, núm. 9), asociada a algunos vestigios de un edificio interpretado como basílica (Santos Gener 1958, 160) y, por último, los vestigios - en este caso sólo funerarios - localizados en el cementerio de Nuestra Señora de la Salud (Romero de Torres 1909, 489-496), ya en las proximidades del río (Fig. 2: b, núm. 10).

4 Hacia un nuevo concepto de ciudad

Como resultado del proceso que acabamos de describir, la imagen que de la ciudad tuvieron los guerreros norteafricanos que en el 711 ganaron la mayor parte de la Península Ibérica para el *Islam* no podía ser más lamentable: murallas parcialmente derruidas, puente abandonado y cortado, extensas zonas de la parte Norte de la ciudad desurbanizadas y transformadas en cementerios, ruina del caserío... Sin embargo, la integración de la antigua *Hispania* en el ámbito del *Islam* y las nuevas necesidades de organización administrativa, militar y tributaria propiciaron la recuperación de la fortuna de Córdoba (ahora denominada *Qurtuba*), transformada en sede del emir de *al-Andalus*, dependiente de los califas omeyas de Damasco. La crisis de crecimiento del *Islam*, plasmada en el cambio de dinastía y el traslado del poder *abbasi* a Bagdad, se traduce en *al-Andalus* en la constitución de un nuevo emirato, independiente de Bagdad y regido por 'Abd al-Rahman I (756-788), un príncipe omeya exiliado en Occidente. El resto del s. VIII y todo el s. IX marcan el afianzamiento del estado omeya andalusí, en constante conflicto con los reinos cristianos que se van configurando en el tercio septentrional de la Península y con las tendencias desintegradoras, de carácter tribal y autonomistas, existentes en el seno de *al-Andalus*.

Durante una primera etapa, *Qurtuba* se circunscribirá al espacio heredado, que coincide exactamente con el de la ciudad romana altoimperial. Esta será la *Madina* (Fig. 3: a) o ciudad propiamente dicha. En su conformación espacial encontramos una cierta continuidad con la ciudad visigoda, con la disposición de los centros de poder político y religioso (alcázar omeya y mezquita aljama) en la parte más meridional, inmediatamente adyacente al río. Por lo que respecta al alcázar, sabemos por *al-Maqqari* que fue construido por 'Abd al-Rahman I sobre el emplazamiento del palacio de los gobernadores visigodos. Desde entonces, sería objeto de constante atención

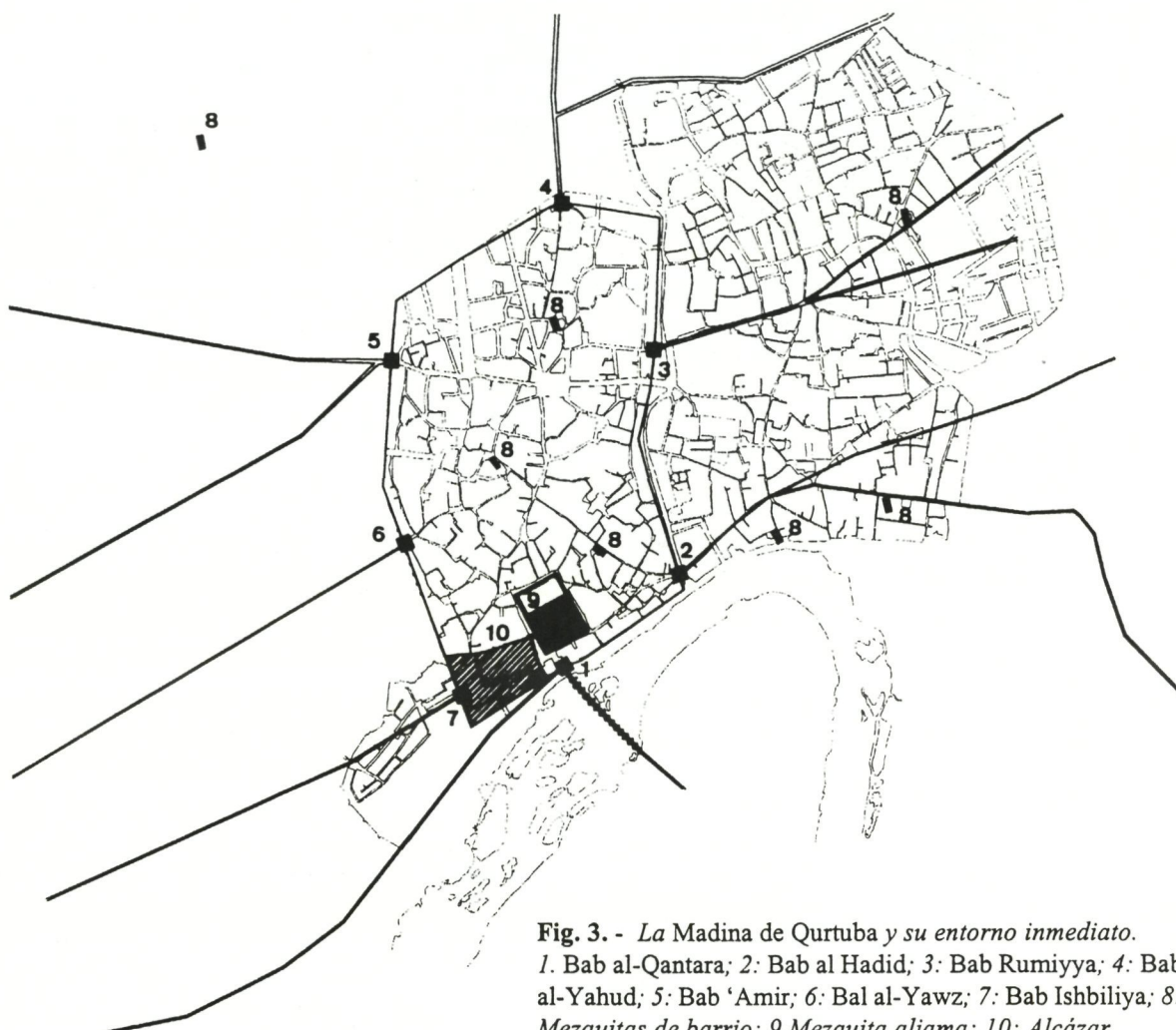


Fig. 3. - La Madina de Qurtuba y su entorno inmediato.

1. Bab al-Qantara; 2: Bab al Hadid; 3: Bab Rumiyya; 4: Bab al-Yahud; 5: Bab 'Amir; 6: Bal al-Yawz; 7: Bab Ishbiliya; 8: Mezquitas de barrio; 9 Mezquita aljama; 10: Alcázar.

por parte de los emires y califas cordobeses, ocupando un amplio espacio entre la mezquita aljama y el ángulo suroeste de la muralla de la *Madina*. Igual proceso se aprecia en relación con la mezquita aljama, cuya construcción se inicia entre 784-786 por el mismo 'Abd al-Rahman I sobre una parte de la basílica cristiana de San Vicente, siendo objeto de mejoras y ampliaciones por sus sucesores.

Para el resto de la *Madina*, la información de las fuentes escritas es substancialmente más escasa, si bien la localización de las puertas (Ocaña 1935) y la restitución del trazado de las principales calles, a partir de la cartografía histórica del siglo pasado, permite una primera aproximación. En síntesis, la transformación de la red viaria romana, iniciada como hemos visto ya a finales del s. III, se hallaba prácticamente consumada (Fig. 3), si bien aún se mantenía el trazado de un gran eje que, desde la *Bab al-Yahud* (Puerta de los Judíos, posterior Puerta de Osario cristiana) atravesaba de Norte a Sur la *Madina*, conduciendo a la mezquita aljama y a la *Bab al-Qantara* (Puerta del Puente). Junto a esta gran arteria, varias calles principales unían las orientales *Bab Rumiyya*

(Puerta de Roma) y *Bab al-Hadid* (Puerta de Hierro) con las occidentales *Bab 'Amir* (la cristiana Puerta de Gallegos), *Bab al-Yawz* (Puerta de los Nogales, la cristiana Puerta de Almodóvar) y *Bab Ishbiliya* (Puerta de Sevilla).

Al igual que su antecesora romana, la *Qurtuba* islámica pronto comenzaría a rebasar los límites amurallados de la *Madina*, tanto con cementerios como con arrabales (Fig. 4). En estos últimos habitaría la población mozárabe y la creciente masa de musulmanes de la ciudad. *Ibn Baskuwal* e *Ibn al-Jatib*, que nos han transmitido una lista de veintiún arrabales de la capital de *al-Andalus* anteriores a la desintegración del Califato, sitúan nueve arrabales en el sector occidental, tres en el septentrional, siete en el oriental y dos en el meridional.

El más antiguo será el cementerio y arrabal de *Sequnda*, localizado al otro lado del río, en el interior de un meandro. El cementerio (*maqbarat al-rabad*) fue acondicionado por el gobernador *al-Samh* en 720, en tanto que el arrabal, que había experimentado un notable crecimiento tras la reconstrucción del puente por *Hisham I* (788-796), sería arrasado por las tropas



Fig. 4. - Córdoba en la segunda mitad del s. X. Sobre una fotografía aérea de la ciudad actual se ha situado parte de la aglomeración urbana cordobesa comprendida entre la *Madina de Qurtuba* y *Madinat al-Zahra*. En color verde se han tramado ambas medinas (1-2), en tanto que en rojo se representa el sector de arrabales que tras ser amurallado con posterioridad a la *fitna* constituiría la Axerquía (3). El cinturón de arrabales califales, documentado arqueológicamente en los últimos años, se representa en color sepia (4), la red viaria principal en negro y las más importantes almunías en azul (5-7).

del emir *al-Hakam I* durante la llamada revuelta del arrabal (818), prohibiéndose en adelante que volviese a ser poblado.

Al Este de la *Madina* se conocen seis arrabales (cfr. Lévi Provençal 1957, 238 ss.), situados a lo largo del trazado de las antiguas vías romanas que penetraban en la ciudad por la *Bab Rumiyya* y la *Bab al-Hadid*: *Sabular*, *Furn Burril*, *al-Bury*, *Munyat 'Abd Allah*, *Munyat al-Mugira* y *rabad al-Zahira*. El primero, posiblemente el más antiguo de este sector, se extendía desde la *Bab al-Hadid* al Sur de un camino flanqueado por un cementerio tardoantiguo y mozárabe. Este cementerio, documentado en los alrededores de la posterior parroquia de San Pedro, donde se tiende a situar la basílica de los Tres Santos (cfr. *supra*), y en las proximidades de la mezquita sobre la que tras la conquista cristiana se alzaría la parroquia de San Nicolás de la Axerquía, acabaría conformando el arrabal del *Sabular* que, a finales del s. X, se extendía hasta el arrabal de *al-Zahira*. Otra mezquita de este arrabal, la *maschid Amir Hisham*, cuyo alminar se conservó en la posterior iglesia de Santiago (a 700 m. de la *Bab al-Hadid*), muestra la notable extensión del *rabad Sabular* ya en la primera mitad del s. IX.

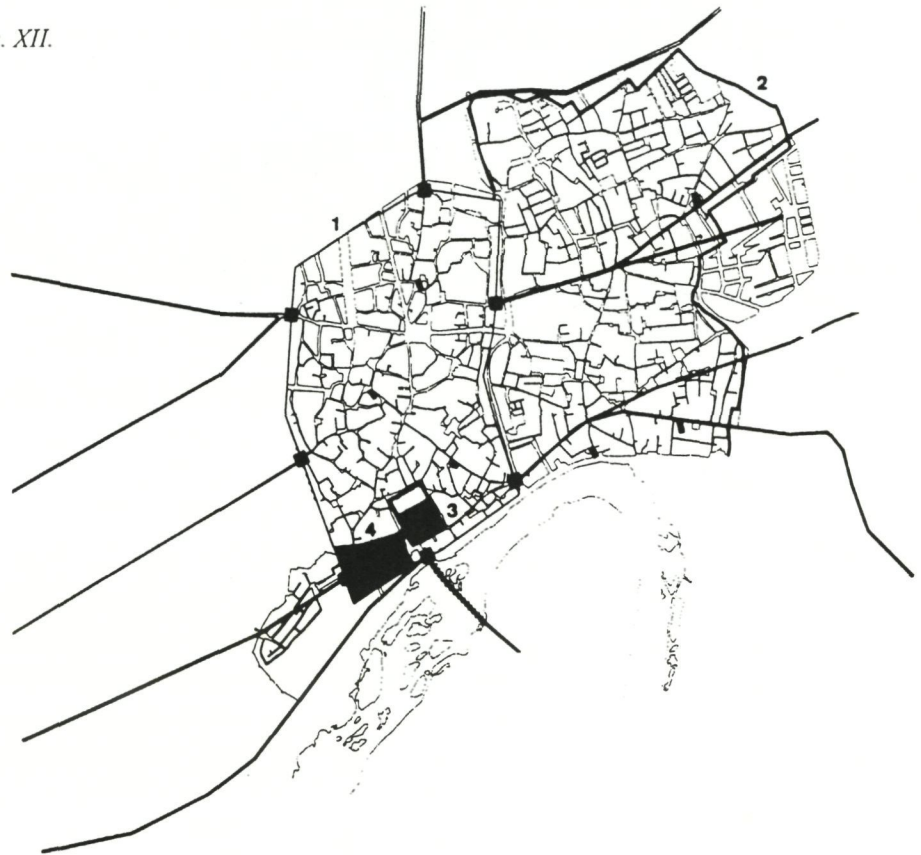
El resto de arrabales que las fuentes sitúan en este sector oriental posiblemente tuvieron un desarrollo algo más tardío, paralelo al que a continuación veremos en el sector septentrional y occidental. Para el arrabal de *Furn Burril* (del Horno de Borrel) no contamos con el menor indicio sobre su ubicación. En cuanto al de *al-Bury* (la Torre), se han propuesto dos ubicaciones. Castejón (1929, 291-292) llamó la atención sobre su coincidencia onomástica con el "*vico turris*" citado en el Calendario de Recemundo al hablar de la festividad de los Tres Santos, cuyo sepulcro se hallaba en este barrio. Como ya hemos

indicado, la iglesia de los Tres Santos tiende a localizarse en el emplazamiento de la actual iglesia parroquial de San Pedro, por lo que de aceptar la identificación entre el *rabad al-Bury* y el *vico turris*, habría que localizarlo al Norte del *rabad Sabular*, en el actual barrio de San Pedro. Sin embargo, esta identificación chocaría con la propuesta por Lévi Provençal (1957, 241), quien, basándose en *Ibn Sahl*, señala cómo este arrabal se extendía a lo largo de la vía romana que salía de la *Madina* por la *Bab Rumiyya* y daba acceso a un cementerio llamado *al-Burch*. Torres Balbás (1957, 165) identificó este cementerio con el *maqbarat Ibn al-Abbas*, que daría nombre a una de las puertas de la posterior muralla de la Axerquía, la *Bab Abbas* (Zanón 1989, 56), conocida en época cristiana como Puerta de Plasencia.

Por lo que respecta a los arrabales de *Munyat 'Abd Allah* y *Munyat al-Mugira*, su localización va ligada a la de las almunías junto a las que se formaron. A este respecto, debemos recordar cómo Lévi Provençal (1957, 241) se inclinó por ubicarlas, respectivamente, en las huertas de los posteriores conventos de San Pablo y de San Agustín. La primera identificación podría ser factible, ocupando la *Munyat 'Abd Allah* el emplazamiento de un gran edificio público romano en proceso de excavación (Murillo *et alii* 1992), en tanto que para la *Munyat al-Mugira* está documentada la existencia de una *maschid al-Mugira* en el emplazamiento de la posterior iglesia parroquial de San Lorenzo (Ocaña 1963), al Sureste del antiguo Convento de San Agustín, por lo que es clara la ubicación del arrabal entre la almunia y la mezquita situada junto a la vieja Vía Augusta. Estas grandes almunías, junto a otras varias pertenecientes a las élites cordobesas y situadas en la *al-yiha al-Sarqiyya*, se entremezclaban con las zonas urbanizadas de los arra-

Fig. 5: a. - Qurtuba a finales del s. XII.

- 1: muralla de la Madina;
- 2: muralla de la Axerquía;
- 3: Mezquita aljama;
- 4: Alcázar.



bales para configurar el típico paisaje que será característico tanto de *Qurtuba* como de otras muchas grandes ciudades islámicas. Paisaje que se extendía igualmente al Norte (*al-yiha al-yawfiyya*) y al Oeste (*al-yiha al-garbiyya*) de la *Madina*.

Así, en las proximidades de la almunia de *al-Rusafa*, fundada por 'Abd al-Rahman I (756-788), se constituiría, al menos desde el s. IX el *Maqbarat al-Rusafa* o *Maqbarat Furaniq* (Torres Balbás 1957, 165) y el *rabad al-Rusafa*. Tanto del cementerio como del arrabal se han documentado vestigios en las últimas excavaciones arqueológicas realizadas en este sector (cfr. Morena 1994), siendo especialmente reseñable la reutilización en las sepulturas de materiales de construcción tardoantiguos y visigodos. Al Suroeste del *rabad al-Rusafa*, en la zona de Cercadilla, se conformaría otro arrabal, posiblemente mozárabe, en torno al antiguo *palatium* y posterior basílica cristiana de San Acisclo, identificado con el *Rabad al-Raqqaquin*, arrabal de los Pergamineros (Arjona 1993, 91). Al Este de los dos anteriores tenemos constancia de otro arrabal mozárabe, el de *Qut Rasah*, de ubicación imprecisa pero que tal vez cabría situar a lo largo de la vía romana que salía por la Bab *al-Yahud*, en la zona del actual barrio de Santa Rosa y Valdeolleros, donde estaban ubicados una importante necrópolis tardoantigua y hornos cerámicos, lo que podría explicar la referencia de *Ibn Baskuwal* a la localización en *Qut Rasah* del topónimo *al-Fajjarin* (los alfareros).

En el sector a Occidente de la *Madina*, frente a la Bab 'Amir, se configuró desde el s. VIII un importante cementerio, fundado por un tal 'Amir Ibn 'Amr *al-Qurashi*, que ha sido recientemente excavado en parte (Murillo *et alii* 1993). Más al Suroeste, y en una amplia zona que se extendía desde la Bab *al-Chawz* a la Bab *Ishbiliya* y hasta los pies de la colina en que se ubicó la *Corduba* prerromana, está documentada una importante necrópolis tardoantigua y visigoda (cfr. *supra*), posiblemente también mozárabe. En este sector, las recientes excavaciones realizadas tanto en la parte superior de la colina (Murillo 1992) como en la ladera meridional y las inmediaciones occidentales, han puesto de relieve la existencia de una ocupación temprana de época emiral, que podría estar relacionada con un arrabal conformado en torno a un palacio o almunia situado en la parte superior de la colina. En este sector, situado a escasa distancia frente a la ciudad y en una posición privilegiada respecto a ésta y al río, hay constancia de una ocupación romana, posiblemente una villa, durante el s. III. Con posterioridad, y de época islámica indeterminada, se conservan restos de una muralla con cimentación de sillería y alzado de tapial, así como grandes estructuras hidráulicas y construcciones de sillería con pavimentos de lajas de piedra. La identificación de estas construcciones es complicada, si bien por la continuidad que se aprecia entre época tardoantigua y emiral, podríamos plantear la hipótesis de encontrarnos ante el *balat Mughit*, es decir el palacio que el liberto *Mughit* recibió del

gobernador *Musa ben Nusayr* en recompensa por la conquista de Córdoba y que, de nuevo por *Ibn Baskuwal*, sabemos dio nombre a uno de los arrabales occidentales.

A estos primeros elementos que determinan la aparición de núcleos de población, inicialmente mozárabe y después musulmana, fuera de la *Madina*, debemos añadir la fundación de mezquitas y cementerios por parte de personajes vinculados a la familia omeya reinante. A las tempranas construcciones realizadas por *Mu'ammara* y *Tarub*, favoritas de 'Abd al-Rahman I, se unen, ya en el s. IX, las de *Mut'a* y 'Ahab, mujeres de al-Hakam I, las de *al-Shifa'* y *Masrur*, concubina y *fata* respectivamente de 'Abd al-Rahman II, y la de *Umm Salama*, esposa de *Muhammad* I. La mezquita de *Umm Salama* dio nombre a un cementerio y un arrabal situados al Norte de la *Bab al-Yahu* (*Ibn al-Jatib* lo denomina también *rabad Qut Rasah*, lo que nos permite identificar su ubicación con la del arrabal mozárabe visto más arriba), en tanto que las mezquitas de *al-Shifa'* y *Masrur* hicieron lo propio con sendos arrabales del *al-yiha al-garbiyya*.

Estos arrabales constituirían aún pequeñas aglomeraciones suburbanas con un bajo nivel de urbanización, alternando con cementerios, algunas almunias y, fundamentalmente, con un paisaje dominado por huertas. Así, y para el último tercio del s. IX, se documentan en el arrabal de Cercadilla, una serie de pozos negros y muladares que muestran ese hábitat de caseríos dispersos en un medio de huertas (Fuentes 1995). A este modelo de ocupación del territorio responde igualmente una gran estructura hidráulica excavada en este mismo arrabal, si bien las características, tanto en edificación como en dimensiones, de la construcción podría hacer pensar en su relación con una almunia o gran propiedad agrícola perteneciente a algún potentado cordobés. Contemporáneas o poco posteriores serían los restos de estructuras domésticas y fabriles (talleres metalúrgicos) documentados en el sector de los arrabales occidentales que, a título de hipótesis, podríamos identificar con el *rabad balat Mughit*, y que muestran también una muy deficiente infraestructura urbana.

La gran expansión de los arrabales de *Qurtuba* corresponde al s. X, y fundamentalmente al reinado de 'Abd al-Rahman III, primer califa de *al-Andalus*. En este momento, la mayor parte del entorno inmediato de Córdoba que venimos analizando queda convertido en un espacio densamente urbanizado que rompe, ya de un modo total con el concepto de ciudad que había imperado durante la antigüedad. La *Madina*, pese a conservar sus funciones religiosas y políticas y pese al simbolismo que aún mantienen las murallas, acaba convirtiéndose en una parte más de

una aglomeración urbana que se encuentra en línea con las grandes ciudades del Oriente islámico.

La transformación es total a partir de los primeros decenios del s. X, pudiéndose hablar ahora de un programa urbanístico que, en parte planificado e impulsado por el propio Estado andalusí (Vallejo 1995, 69), transforma la fisonomía de *Qurtuba*. Aunque por el momento no estemos en condiciones de evaluar los ritmos y fases concretas de este proceso, sí podemos vislumbrar el resultado final, que no es otro que la conformación de un tejido, en parte urbano y en parte suburbano, en el que alternan extensas áreas domésticas con equipamientos comunitarios (zocos y mezquitas), extensas necrópolis, instalaciones estatales... Y todo ello dentro de un territorio estructurado por una red de caminos, en buena parte de origen romano, que actúan como elementos articuladores de los diferentes arrabales.

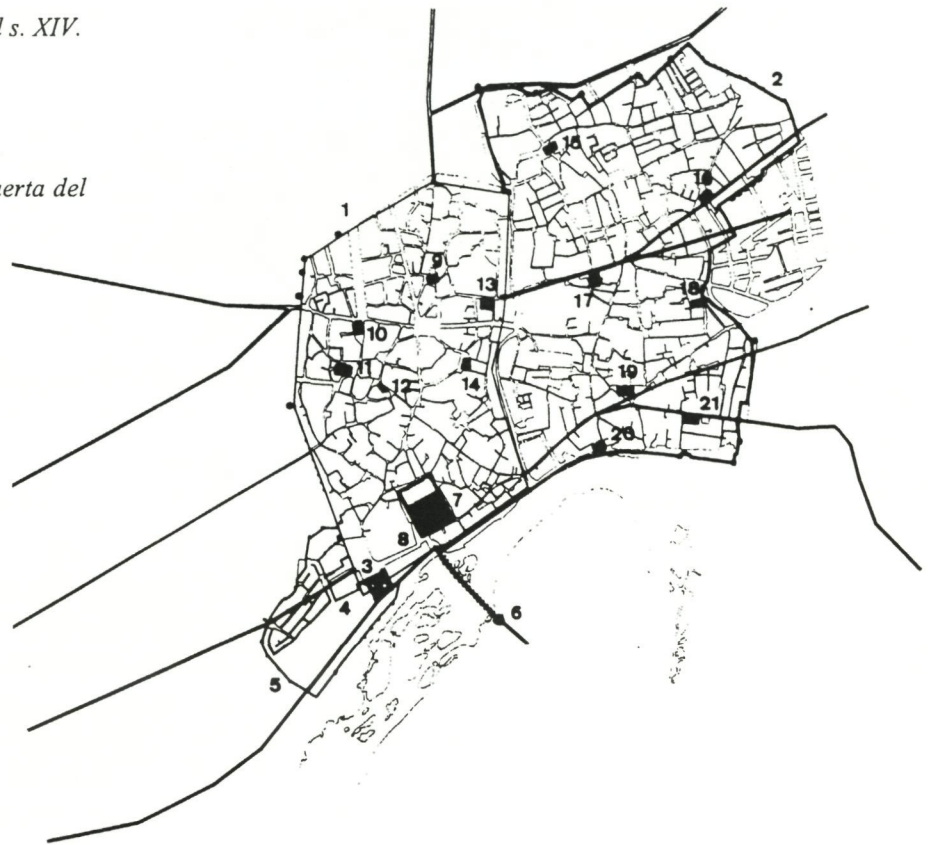
Los trabajos arqueológicos en curso están permitiendo tanto una aproximación de carácter macroespacial como un análisis semimicro y microespacial de unos arrabales que presentan una depurada ordenación urbanística, con un trazado jerárquico de calles regulares que en algunos casos disponen de una infraestructura de evacuación de aguas residuales, grandes espacios abiertos y pavimentados que cabría interpretar como zocos o mercados de arrabal, casas de variada planta, pero siempre articuladas en torno a un patio central, mezquitas y cementerios. Más allá de estos arrabales, y en algunos casos encerradas dentro de ellos como consecuencia del crecimiento urbano, encontramos gran número de almunias, equivalentes de las *villae* de época romana y en las que también se simultanea la producción agrícola con la residencia campestre de sus propietarios. En algunos casos, como el de las almunias de *al-Rusafa* o *al-Naura*, nos encontramos con auténticos palacios periurbanos pertenecientes al soberano.

5 De la ciudad a la conurbación: *Madinat Qurtuba*, *Madinat al-Zahra* y *Madinat al-Zahira*

La situación que acabamos de describir, en parte heredera del férreo control que Córdoba había desarrollado secularmente sobre su territorio, se ve condicionada y en parte estimulada como consecuencia de un hecho, efímero aunque trascendental, como es la decisión de 'Abd al-Rahman III de proceder a la fundación de una nueva ciudad. La ciudad de *al-Zahra* se localiza al W. de la actual Córdoba, a unos 5 kms. de las murallas de la *Madina*. Para su emplazamiento se buscó, aparte de la posibilidad de abastecerse de agua mediante la reutilización de un viejo acueducto romano (Ventura 1993a), una posición

Fig. 5: b. - Córdoba a finales del s. XIV.

- 1: Recinto de la Villa;
- 2: Recinto de la Axerquía;
- 3: Alcázar cristiano;
- 4: Recinto de la Torre de Belén;
- 5: Recinto del Alcázar Viejo-Huerta del Alcázar;
- 6: Calahorra;
- 7: Mezquita;
- 8: Palacio episcopal;
- 9-21: Iglesias parroquiales.



claramente escenográfica, en un punto en el que el reborde de Sierra Morena se adentra en la Vega a modo de espolón, permitiendo una excelente visibilidad hacia el W., S. y E. Esta circunstancia, que no se repite en las proximidades de Córdoba, fue determinante en la elección del emplazamiento de la nueva ciudad, a semejanza de lo que aconteció con sus precedentes palaciegos abasíes que buscan igualmente un terreno alto y con amplia visibilidad. De este modo, ya se establecía una primera relación jerárquica entre la fundación califal, situada por encima de la isohipsa de 200 m. s.n.m., y la vieja ciudad de Córdoba, cuya cota máxima no supera los 120 m. Esta gradación jerárquica se aprecia en la propia ciudad palatina (Vallejo 1991). Aprovechando la conexión del reborde montañoso con el valle fluvial, y adaptándose a la topografía, la ciudad se articula en tres grandes niveles (con más de 70 m. de desnivel entre el punto más elevado y el más bajo), definidos por terrazas superpuestas de las que las dos superiores corresponden al ámbito funcional del Alcázar, en una posición preeminente en relación con la terraza inferior, ocupada por el caserío urbano y la mezquita aljama.

Cohherentemente con cuanto venimos diciendo, queda claro que 'Abd al-Rahman III se propuso erigir una ciudad en el pleno sentido del término, y no una mera residencia personal o un conjunto palaciego (cfr. Vallejo 1991 y 1995). La explicación del por qué de la fundación de *al-Zahra* debemos buscarla en el

contexto histórico de inicios del s. X, tanto en *al-Andalus* como en el resto del mundo islámico, y fundamentalmente en el fortalecimiento del Estado andalusí y en su pugna, en el teatro de operaciones magrebí, con el creciente poder fatimí. Y en esta coyuntura, *Madinat al-Zahra* no es sino "la plasmación arquitectónica", el símbolo del triunfo del nuevo Estado, gobernado ahora por el Califa, por el "Príncipe de los Creyentes". La construcción de una nueva ciudad en las proximidades de las antiguas urbes, junto a la acuñación de monedas de oro, son acciones que en la ideología del poder por entonces imperante se asociaban de un modo inequívoco con la dignidad y con el estatus califal, siendo por tanto una práctica habitual, tanto en el Oriente islámico como en el Norte de África, donde resulta paradigmático el caso de Kairuán, con las tres ciudades palatinas de *Al-Abbssiya*, *Raqqada* y *al-Mansuriya* (otra ciudad redonda a imagen de Bagdad) desarrolladas en sus inmediaciones desde el s. IX.

La vocación de nueva capitalidad con que se dota de inmediato a *Madinat al-Zahra* se aprecia en el traslado de la residencia califal, de la Corte y de toda la administración del Estado, así como de instituciones fundamentales como la ceca o las atarazanas reales. Por otro lado, una red de caminos, en parte relacionados con Córdoba y en parte independientes de la misma, destinados a conectarla con las principales ciudades de *al-Andalus* (Bermúdez 1993), son buena prueba de la concepción de *Madinat al-*

Zahra como ciudad plenamente independiente de Córdoba, y ello aún cuando, en la práctica, la conurbación de los arrabales de ésta con los de aquélla, las convirtiera en una única realidad urbana, tal y como se encargan de señalar los escritores de la época.

Pese a las riquezas invertidas en su construcción, la vida de *al-Zahra* no dejó de ser efímera. Aunque *al-Hakam* II, hijo y sucesor de 'Abd al-Rahman, mantuvo en ella la capitalidad de *al-Andalus*, el sometimiento del tercer califa, *Hisam* II, a los designios de su primer ministro, Almanzor, provocó el traslado de la Capital a la nueva ciudad de *Madinat al-Zahira*, localizada al Este de Córdoba y creada con la misma finalidad: legitimar y demostrar el nuevo poder imperante en *al-Andalus*, poder en este caso diferente al del Califa confinado en *Madinat al-Zahra*. Ambas ciudades, *al-Zahra* y *al-Zahira*, constituyen un claro ejemplo de centros palatinos con un alto grado de artificialidad. Y esta artificialidad les llevó, inevitablemente, a sucumbir en el momento en que la coyuntura que las había propiciado desapareció (en ambos casos la desintegración del Califato durante la *fitna* o revolución acaecida entre el 1010 y el 1013). Frente a ellas, la vieja Córdoba, surgida como resultado de un milenario proceso histórico basado en unas invariantes que la empujaban a su conformación como núcleo urbano, conseguiría sobrevivir, una vez más, para integrarse en una nueva etapa de su Historia.

6 *Qurtuba* postcalifal.

La historia urbana de Córdoba tras la desintegración del Califato es un preámbulo de su posterior desarrollo a lo largo de los siglos bajomedievales y modernos. La ciudad queda circunscrita a la antigua *Madina* y a una parte de los arrabales de la *al-Yiha al-Sarqiyya*, encerrados desde al menos la segunda mitad del s. XI por una muralla (cfr. Zanón 1989) que experimentará transformaciones y refacciones a lo largo del s. XII, durante la ocupación almorávide y almohade (Fig. 5: a).

A nivel de la cultura material, esta etapa está caracterizada por el tremendo marasmo subyacente a la desintegración del Califato, plasmado en un progresivo deterioro de la imagen urbana de la ciudad al que únicamente escapan las murallas en cuanto elementos que, frente a la etapa omeya, cobran ahora un valor estratégico de primer orden en un contexto político y social de gran inestabilidad. Este panorama general sólo experimentará una cierta inflexión al comienzo de la etapa almohade, cuando el emir 'Abd al-Mu'min convierte de nuevo a *Qurtuba*, por unos meses (1162), en capital de *al-Andalus* e inicia un

programa edilicio en el que participó el arquitecto *Ahmad ben Baso*. Pruebas de esta renovación urbana la encontramos en la construcción de un nuevo barrio residencial en las proximidades de la *Bab Rumiyya* y junto a la vieja Vía Augusta, en el sector probablemente ocupado por la *munyat 'Abd Allah* (Murillo *et alii* 1992), así como en determinadas residencias suburbanas documentadas en las proximidades de la *Bab al-Yahud*, *Bab Amir*, *Bab al-Yawz* y en el antiguo *rabad al-Raqqaquin*.

7 Epílogo: la ciudad cristiana

Los siglos XI y XII, en los que se suceden la taifa cordobesa, la subordinación al reino taifa de Sevilla, la dominación almorávide y la almohade, constituyen una etapa de enorme conflictividad política y de desintegración de lo que *al-Andalus* había significado en cuanto formación social y cultural. Las diversas coyunturas políticas no logran ocultar el elemento substancial del momento: el retroceso del *Islam* peninsular frente al avance de los reinos cristianos del Norte. Avance en el que acabará cayendo Córdoba en el año 1236.

Tras la conquista cristiana se establecerán, a lo largo de los siglos XIII y XIV, las claves de lo que será la "imagen" de la ciudad (Escobar 1989) hasta, prácticamente, los albores del presente siglo (Fig. 5: b), con una intensa implantación de la componente religiosa (mediante parroquias y conventos) en la trama urbana (Jordano 1996). Un momentáneo florecimiento en las décadas centrales del s. XVI (Puchol 1992) no supondrá sino una ligera transformación en una ciudad que, salvo limitadas operaciones urbanísticas (v. gr. la plaza de la Corredera) y de construcción de elementos "singulares" en los siglos XVII y XVIII, llegó a la desintegración del Antiguo Régimen y la configuración de la nueva "ciudad burguesa" con un "aspecto" esencialmente medieval.

Bibliografía

- ARCE J. 1977-78: Retratos imperiales tardorromanos de Hispania: la evidencia epigráfica, *AEspA* 50-51, 253-268.
- ARJONA A. 1993: Aproximación al urbanismo de la Córdoba musulmana a la luz de las recientes excavaciones arqueológicas, *B.R.A.C.* 125, 85-98.
- BERMÚDEZ J.M. 1993: La trama viaria propia de *Madinat al Zahra* y su integración con la de Córdoba, *A.A.C.* 4, 259-254.
- CARRILLO J.R. *et alii* 1995: Arqueología de Córdoba. La *Colonia Patricia* altoimperial, *Revista de*

- Arqueología* 172, 34-45.
- ESCOBAR J.M. 1989: *Córdoba en la Baja Edad Media*, Córdoba.
- FLÓREZ E. 1753: *España Sagrada*, T. X y XI, Madrid.
- FUERTES M.C. 1995: Un conjunto cerámico post-califal procedente del yacimiento de Cercadilla, Córdoba, *A.A.C.* 6, 265-291.
- GARCÍA Y BELLIDO A. 1959: El sarcófago romano de Córdoba, *AEspA* XXXII, 3-37.
- GUARDIA PONS M. 1992: *Los mosaicos de la Antigüedad Tardía en Hispania*, Barcelona.
- HIDALGO R. 1993: Nuevos datos sobre el urbanismo de Colonia Patricia Corduba: Excavación arqueológica en la calle Ramírez de las Casas-Deza, 13, *A.A.C.* 4, 91-134.
- HIDALGO R. 1996a: *Espacio público y espacio privado en el conjunto palatino de Cercadilla (Córdoba): el aula central y las termas*, Sevilla.
- HIDALGO R. 1996b: La incorporación del esquema palacio-circo a la imagen de la Córdoba bajo-imperial, en: *Simposium Internacional A.I.E.G.L.: Ciudades privilegiadas en el Occidente romano*, Sevilla, e.p.
- JIMÉNEZ J.L. 1992: El templo romano de la Calle Claudio Marcelo en Córdoba, *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Romana* 1, 119-132.
- JIMÉNEZ J.L. 1996: El templo romano de la Calle Claudio Marcelo en Córdoba: aspectos cronológicos y funcionales, en: P. LEÓN (ed.), *Colonia Patricia Corduba. Una reflexión arqueológica*, Córdoba, 129-153.
- JIMÉNEZ J.L. & RUIZ D. 1994: Resultados de la excavación arqueológica en el solar de la calle María Cristina en Córdoba, situado a espaldas del templo romano, *A.A.C.* 5, 119-153.
- JORDANO M.A. 1996: *Arquitectura medieval cristiana en Córdoba (desde la reconquista al inicio del Renacimiento)*, Córdoba.
- LEÓN P. et alii 1991: Resultados de la Excavación Sistemática en la Casa Carbonell (Córdoba). Campaña de 1991, *A.A.A.* '91, vol. II, 158-174.
- LÉVI PROVENÇAL E. 1957: El desarrollo urbano. Córdoba en el siglo X, en: *España Musulmana (711-1031)*, vol. V de la Historia de España Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 195-255.
- MARCOS A. & VICENT A.M. 1985: Investigación, técnicas y problemas de las excavaciones en solares de la ciudad de Córdoba y algunos resultados topográficos generales, *Arqueología de las ciudades modernas superpuestas a las antiguas*, Zaragoza, 233-252.
- MORENO M. et alii 1996: Nuevos datos sobre el abastecimiento de agua a la Córdoba romana e islámica, *Arte y Arqueología* 4, 13-23.
- MURILLO J.F. 1992: Nuevos trabajos arqueológicos en Colina de los Quemados: el sector del Teatro de la Axerquía (Parque Cruz Conde, Córdoba), *A.A.A.* '92, Vol. III, 188-199.
- MURILLO J.F. & CARRILLO J.R. 1996: Aspectos de la monumentalización de las necrópolis de *Colonia Patricia*. El mausoleo de Puerta de Gallegos, en: *Simposium Internacional A.I.E.G.L.: Ciudades privilegiadas en el Occidente romano*, Sevilla, e.p.
- MURILLO J.F. & VAQUERIZO D. 1996: La Corduba prerromana, en: P. LEÓN (ed.), *Colonia Patricia Corduba. Una reflexión arqueológica*, Córdoba, 37-47.
- MURILLO J.F. et alii 1992: Intervención arqueológica en el Palacio de Orive, *A.A.A.* '92, Vol. III, 175-187.
- OCAÑA M. 1935: Las puertas de la *madina* de Córdoba, *Al-Andalus* III, 143-151.
- OCAÑA M. 1942: La basílica de San Vicente y la Gran Mezquita de Córdoba, *Al-Andalus* VII, 347-366.
- OCAÑA M. 1963: Notas sobre la Córdoba de *Ibn Hazm*, *Al-Mulk* 3, 53-62.
- PUCHOL M.D. 1992: *Urbanismo del Renacimiento en la ciudad de Córdoba*, Córdoba.
- ROMERO DE TORRES E. 1909: Córdoba. Nuevas antigüedades romanas y visigóticas, *BRAH* LV, 487-496.
- SANTOS GENER S. DE LOS 1955: *Memoria de las excavaciones del Plan Nacional realizadas en Córdoba (1948-1950)*, Informes y Memorias de la C.G.E.A. 31, Madrid.
- SANTOS GENER S. DE LOS 1958: Las artes en Córdoba durante la dominación de los pueblos germánicos, *BRAC* 78, 147-192.
- SOTOMAYOR M. 1964: El sarcófago paleocristiano de la Ermita de los Mártires de Córdoba, *AEspA* 37, 88 ss.
- SOTOMAYOR M. 1973: *Datos históricos sobre los sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España*, Granada.
- SOTOMAYOR M. 1975: *Sarcófagos romano cristianos de España*, Granada.
- STYLOW A.U. 1990: Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba romana, in: *Stadtbild und Ideologie, München*, 259-287.
- TORRES BALBÁS L. 1957a: Arte hispanomusulmán. Hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba, en: *España Musulmana (711-1031)*, vol. V de la Historia de España Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 331-788.
- TORRES BALBÁS L. 1985: *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*, Madrid.
- VALLEJO A. 1991: *Madinat az-Zahra*, en: E. CABRERA (Coord.), *Abdarrahman III y su época*, Córdoba, 231-244.
- VALLEJO A. 1995: El proyecto urbanístico del Estado califa: *Madinat al-Zahra*, en: R. LÓPEZ (Coord.), *La arquitectura del Islam occidental*, Barcelona, 69-81.

- VENTURA A. 1991: Resultados del seguimiento arqueológico en el solar de c/ Angel de Saavedra 10 (Córdoba), *A.A.C.* 2, 253-290.
- VENTURA A. 1993: *El abastecimiento de agua a la Córdoba romana I. El acueducto de Valdepuentes*, Córdoba.
- VENTURA A. 1996a: *El abastecimiento de agua a la Córdoba romana II. Acueductos, ciclo de distribución y urbanismo*, Córdoba.
- VENTURA A. 1996b: El barrio de espectáculos de la Colonia Patricia: ambiente epigráfico, evergetas y culto imperial, en: *Simposium Internacional A.I.E.G.L.: Ciudades privilegiadas en el Occidente romano*, Sevilla, e.p.
- VENTURA A. et alii 1996: Análisis arqueológico de la Córdoba romana: Resultados e hipótesis de la investigación, en: P. LEÓN (ed.), *Colonia Patricia Corduba. Una reflexión arqueológica*, Córdoba, 87-118.
- VICENT A. M. 1972-74: Nuevo hallazgo en una necrópolis romana en Córdoba, *AEspA* XLV-XLVII, 113-124.

n F. Murillo Redondo, MA, PhD
Gerencia Municipal de Urbanismo
Plaza de Colón 22-23
14001 Córdoba
España

Mary Alexander

Medieval Guildford

In the Middle Ages Guildford was a small town, even though it was the county town of Surrey. It is in the south-east of England, 30 miles south-west of London. It is in a gap in the chalk ridge of the North Downs, worn by the River Wey flowing north to the River Thames. The chalk runs east-west and may have been used as a trackway from prehistoric times: certainly it was used as the major route east and west of Guildford in historic times until c.1800. The chalk is steep on the southern scarp slope and the gap made by the river is one of only two places in Surrey where it can be crossed easily – a route still used by roads and railways. A ford made it the obvious place to cross the river, which could also have been used for transport.

So it is rather surprising that there was no settlement at Guildford until c.A.D.500. There is no archaeological or documentary evidence that there was a Roman town here, although there are many villas in the countryside around. The first settlers were Anglo-Saxons, arriving perhaps as early as the 5th century¹. The pattern of early Saxon cemeteries in Surrey shows several around London dating to the 6th c. with a few 5th c. objects – Croydon, Mitcham, Beddington – and an isolated one at Guildford, on Guilddown, the western slope of the valley, opposite to the modern town. The cemeteries around London are thought to indicate the presence of Anglo-Saxon mercenaries guarding the routes from the south coast to London². Guilddown does not fit into this pattern, though it could have been guarding routes from the west and south-west. However, there is evidence that the Anglo-Saxon settlement in Surrey reflected

earlier boundaries and Guildford may have been controlling one or two tribal areas, possibly with a majority of Celtic inhabitants³.

The name Surrey comes from the Anglo-Saxon “Suthrige”, meaning the “southern district”⁴. There is much debate as to what this district was but it is generally felt that Surrey was on the periphery of other, more important, regions as it had been in the Iron Age and Roman times⁵. There is an alternative view that in fact Surrey was an important, individual region and that the early cemeteries may indicate an elite. This region, extending further east than modern Surrey, is characterised by types of goods which are important for the transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon culture⁶. By the 7th c. this period of importance was over and control over Surrey fluctuated between the kingdoms of Mercia, Kent and Wessex, with Wessex finally triumphing.

Guildford does not appear in the Burghal Hidage of the late 9th c. which lists the fortifications of the kingdom of Wessex against the Danes. The burhs in Surrey were at Southwark, “the defensive work of the men of Surrey”⁷ and Eashing, a small hamlet about 5 miles from Guildford, on the River Wey. The burh can still be seen as a bank and ditch on a sandstone hill above the river. It is probable that Eashing was a temporary defensive centre and was replaced by Guildford as a defensive and commercial centre soon after⁸. Guildford was certainly important by the later 10th c. as it had a mint by then. The first coins known to have been issued are those of Edward the Martyr (975-979)⁹. There was a royal residence in Guildford mentioned in Alfred the Great’s will of c.880, but

¹ See, for example: Matthew ALEXANDER, *Guildford: A Short History*, Godalming, 1986.

² J. MORRIS, *Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Surrey*, *Surrey Arch. Coll.* LVI, 1959, 152; R. Poulton, *Saxon Surrey*, in: J. & D.G. BIRD, *The Archaeology of Surrey to 1540*, 1987.

³ J. BLAIR, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300*, 1991, Chap.1.

⁴ J.E.B. GOVER, A. MAWER & F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Surrey*, 1934, 1-2.

⁵ POULTON, *op.cit.*, 218.

⁶ Lecture by John Hines to the Standing Conference on London Archaeology’s conference on Dark Age London, Oct. 5th 1996.

⁷ GOVER *et al.*, *op.cit.*, 29-30.

⁸ F. ALDSWORTH & D. HILL, *The Burghal Hidage - Eashing*, *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 68, 1971, 198-201.

⁹ E.M. Dance, *The Borough of Guildford, 1257-1957. Catalogue of an exhibition of the borough plate and the borough records*, 1957.

there is no indication of where it was, or what the town was like at that date. However, later towns often developed on the site of royal residences¹⁰.

There is, in fact, no archaeological evidence for the early Saxon settlement. All we have is the pagan cemetery on Guilddown, indicating occupation from the late 5th to the 7th century. The associated settlement could have been on the west side of the river with the cemetery or on the east side, where it is now. The pagan cemetery was re-used in the 11th c. for the execution and burial of criminals, probably on the site of a pagan Saxon barrow¹¹: the earliest pottery so far excavated in the town is of late 11th or early 12th c. date¹². When the Saxon cemetery was first excavated the 11th c. burials were thought to be the victims of the Guildford Massacre of 1036 when Alfred the Atheling and his followers were attacked by Earl Godwin. Some of them may well be, (though it is not entirely certain that the massacre took place in Guildford) but some burials must be later as one was found with a coin of 1043¹³.

Our main evidence for the early history of the town is its topography. The earliest useful map of the town is the "Ichnography" of 1739. Part of the town appears on a map of the Forest of Windsor made by Norden in 1607, and an estate map of 1613 drawn for a local family shows some features. It is clear from the "Ichnography" and the surviving street pattern that the town was laid out deliberately, with a central High Street running up from the river. Land on either side of the High Street was enclosed by a rectangular ditch, and the properties along the street had gardens running down to this ditch. This layout is typical of 10th c. Wessex burhs and may well have been laid out in the early 10th c. when Guildford replaced Eashing as the burh in Surrey¹⁴. This regular pattern is not found in the area east of St. Mary's church, and this may be the site of the original, pagan settlement. St. Mary's is south of the High Street, unlike the other two parish churches which are on the street, which may indicate that St. Mary's pre-dates the street. Settlement is more compact in this area, along Quarry Street and Chapel Street. The planned layout of the town almost certainly predates the Norman castle as the castle ditch around the motte intrudes on the line of the town ditch.

A major difficulty in studying medieval Guildford is that there are no medieval records generated by the town itself. The earliest surviving records begin in 1514. There were, of course, earlier ones but they have vanished. As early as the 17th c. a local historian was concerned about the poor state of the town archives but by the late 17th c. the early material had gone. A small part of the records was copied out in the 17th c. but only a very small proportion. (The town claimed that its records were burnt by the rebels in 1381, but as an earlier patent survived and later records do not it seems that carelessness, rather than deliberate destruction, was the cause.)

The various charters granted to the town are recorded in the royal archives, and royal administrative records about finance, justice etc., episcopal and monastic records and the archives of other towns provide further information which combined with surviving buildings, excavations and later records and maps enables us to build up a reasonable picture of the town, but one with many frustrating gaps. The main medieval features of the town were the royal castle, three churches, a Dominican Friary and a leper hospital. Its principal trade was in wool but apart from several stone undercrofts there are not many signs of a wealthy trading town.

Surrey was a rather poor county with infertile soils¹⁵. There were no noble families living near Guildford until the 18th c. and the two chief noble families in Surrey died out in the 14th c. They were the de Warennes and de Clares, both based in the east of the county away from Guildford, and with their chief seats outside the county. These factors, along with the presence of London one day's ride away, probably explain why Guildford did not develop into a major centre as did most other county towns. In general county towns in England are larger and more complex than Guildford was in the Middle Ages. Many have a cathedral, and many have the status of cities rather than boroughs. There were no large towns in Surrey (except for Southwark which is rather different because of its close relationship with London, over the river). Kingston-upon-Thames was of some importance but nowhere outside London was both an important civic and ecclesiastical centre. Merton Priory was probably the wealthiest and most important religious house in Surrey (excluding

¹⁰ BLAIR *op.cit.*, 19; E. MILLER & J. HATCHER, *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348*.

¹¹ M. O'CONNELL & R. POULTON, *The Towns of Surrey*, in: J. HASLAM (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, 1984, 44.

¹² Not yet fully published: finds and archive in Guildford

Museum.

¹³ A.W.G. LOWTHER, *The Saxon Cemetery at Guilddown, Guildford, Surrey*, *Surrey Arch. Coll.* XXXIX, 1931, 1-50.

¹⁴ M. BIDDLE & D. HILL, *Late Saxon Planned Towns*, *Ant. J.* 51, 70-85.

¹⁵ For a good description of Surrey see Blair, *op.cit.*, 1-11.

The ICHNOGRAPHY or GROUND PLAN of GUILDFORD the COUNTY TOWN of SURREY Anno Dom. 1739.



1. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
2. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
3. The House of the Bishop of Bath
4. The House of the Bishop of Ely
5. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
6. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
7. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
8. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
9. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
10. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
11. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
12. The House of the Bishop of Bath
13. The House of the Bishop of Ely
14. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
15. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
16. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
17. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
18. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
19. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
20. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
21. The House of the Bishop of Bath
22. The House of the Bishop of Ely
23. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
24. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
25. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
26. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
27. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
28. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
29. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
30. The House of the Bishop of Bath
31. The House of the Bishop of Ely
32. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
33. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
34. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
35. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
36. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
37. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
38. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
39. The House of the Bishop of Bath
40. The House of the Bishop of Ely
41. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
42. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
43. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
44. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
45. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
46. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
47. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
48. The House of the Bishop of Bath
49. The House of the Bishop of Ely
50. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
51. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
52. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
53. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
54. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
55. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
56. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
57. The House of the Bishop of Bath
58. The House of the Bishop of Ely
59. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
60. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
61. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
62. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
63. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
64. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
65. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
66. The House of the Bishop of Bath
67. The House of the Bishop of Ely
68. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
69. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
70. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
71. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
72. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
73. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
74. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
75. The House of the Bishop of Bath
76. The House of the Bishop of Ely
77. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
78. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
79. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
80. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
81. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
82. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
83. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
84. The House of the Bishop of Bath
85. The House of the Bishop of Ely
86. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
87. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
88. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
89. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
90. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
91. The House of the Bishop of Exeter
92. The House of the Bishop of Winchester
93. The House of the Bishop of Bath
94. The House of the Bishop of Ely
95. The House of the Bishop of Lincoln
96. The House of the Bishop of Norwich
97. The House of the Bishop of Salisbury
98. The House of the Bishop of Worcester
99. The House of the Bishop of Hereford
100. The House of the Bishop of Exeter

Bermondsey and Southwark which were in effect part of London). Chertsey Abbey was old and important but neither Merton nor Chertsey had a correspondingly important town. The important Cistercian house of Waverley Abbey (the first in England) was of course isolated in the countryside but nevertheless did not achieve the fame of the northern Cistercian houses in Yorkshire and elsewhere. Other religious houses in Surrey were very small.

The Domesday Book entry for Guildford is laconic and enigmatic. However, it is the first entry for Surrey, under the land of the king, which suggests that it was an important place although no word to suggest that it was a borough is used. "In Guildford King William has 75 sites, whereon dwell 175 men. Before 1066 they paid £18 0s 3d; now they are assessed at £30; however, they pay £32." There were several houses held by manors outside the town. The number of men and tenements suggests that Guildford was already built up by 1086, and its wealth appears to have increased since King Edward's time. Neither castle, churches nor mill are mentioned, but must have existed¹⁶.

Physically, Guildford was quite small in the Middle Ages. It measured about 460m. from the river to the eastern boundary and was about 250m from north to south. It was surrounded by a ditch which cannot be seen today, as it has gradually evolved into a roadway, although it continued to be called the North Town Ditch and the South Town Ditch until at least the 17th c. The north ditch is now North Street and the south ditch is Castle Street and Sydenham Road, but was once South Street. The north and south ditches were the longer sides and therefore the most prominent and their course is fairly clear on maps but the ditches at the east and west ends are less clear. The north ditch can be seen on maps curving south into Friary Street at the west and to join Chertsey Street on the east but there are no corresponding lines on the south. In fact, the south ditch is much less clear than the north because of the intrusive castle ditch and the line of Chapel Street, which may have been part of the layout of the early Saxon town. There is no sign at all at the west end of the south ditch as to where it ran. It may have continued straight on down to the river, down the steep passage now called Rosemary Alley, which was said to have once been a watercourse. The land on the south of the High Street is complicated by being much steeper than that on the north, rising both to the east and to the south. This

makes the south ditch run uphill very steeply from Quarry Street, near St. Mary's church. The east end of the ditch is said to have been seen in Holy Trinity churchyard on the east of the town but this would make it run at a strange angle, very different from the grid pattern of the rest of the town¹⁷. However, all the maps from 1739 onwards show a curving boundary due south of where the north ditch joins the High Street. It seems far more likely that this was all that remained of the east end of the south ditch. Unfortunately it was destroyed by building work at the end of the 19th c. and we do not know why this part of the ditch disappeared so much earlier than the rest of it.

The width, depth and shape of the ditch are all unknown. The only slight traces of it are steps leading down to the road from the pavement on North Street. Presumably there was a bank on the inside with a palisade. The north ditch is on fairly level ground, though sloping a little up to the east and down to the north. On the south side the land is much steeper and the outer edge of the ditch must have been cut into the chalk hillside, which would make it of dubious value as a defence. The land within the ditch would fall away sharply, even more so if there was a bank, though a bank and a palisade may have compensated for the lack of defensive quality of the outer edge of the ditch. North Street is wide, the corresponding south street less so. This may suggest that the ditch was wide, but we do not know how much of this area was taken up by a bank, an intramural street or an open area outside the ditch.

Although the west end of the north ditch seems to run along Friary Street there is a possible alternative at this end of the town. The "Ichnography" and Norden's map of 1607 show an area on the west of the river defined by a boundary with curving corners. On the "Ichnography" this is also the line of the borough boundary and it is very tempting to see it as the medieval boundary, or perhaps the site of the pagan Saxon settlement. Norden's map suggests that it was either carved out of the royal hunting park, or already existed when the area was emparked. Old histories of the town claim that the original settlement was on the west of the river but there is really no evidence either way. On the 1739 map the borough boundary was north of North Street and lined up with the boundary over the river. This seems to be what is described in the borough records in 1599¹⁸. We do not know if this was where it ran in the Middle Ages but it would make a lot of sense if it did. The eastern boundary is

¹⁶ *Domesday Book: Surrey*, ed. J. MORRIS, Chichester, 1975.

¹⁷ *Victoria County History of Surrey*, Vol. III, 1911, ed. H.E. MALDEN, 547. This ditch was also reported to Guildford

Museum more recently as having been seen during building work: see map in Museum archive.

¹⁸ J. & S. RUSSELL, *The History of Guildford*, 1801, 180.

thought to have been where Chertsey Street joins the High Street, though by the mid 16th c. it had been extended to the east. During building work in Friary Street (at the west) boreholes suggested that there was a ditch alongside the street: the nature of the soil changed suggesting that the land rising from the river dipped and rose again, as if there were a ditch in the area¹⁹.

The riverside seems to have changed even more than the town ditch. The River Wey was made navigable downstream from Guildford to the Thames in the 1650s, and upstream to Godalming in the 1760s so that banking, dredging and straightening have obscured the natural shape of the river. Clearly the river was shallower in the 5th or 6th c. so that it could be forded, and it was probably also wider, perhaps in several branches. The Anglo-Saxons named the crossing "the golden ford" (*gyldeforda*)²⁰. Today the river bed is composed of yellow sand, swept along from the Greensand ridge at St.Catherine's, which may have given the town its name. Alternatively, there is a yellow flower which grows in marshy ground, and if this was growing profusely around the river it may have given its name to the ford.

Until 1993 there was no evidence that the river was used for transport in the Middle Ages. The Act for making it navigable stressed the benefits of being able to use it for trade, but made no reference to any earlier traffic. However, in 1993 flood relief work (done without any consultation with archaeologists) revealed the timbers of a mediaeval waterfront 8.2m. (27 feet) below the present bank. This bank was artificially raised in the 1960s, but is only about 1.5m. above the river. The medieval waterfront would therefore be about 6.73m. below the present river level, and it is very difficult to reconstruct the landscape at that time. It is known that St.Nicholas church, on the river bank, suffered from flooding and had its floor level raised more than once, finally being rebuilt at a higher level. A surviving 16th c. chapel is about 1.75m. lower than the present church. It seems unlikely that the mill, a little upstream, on the site of the medieval mill, can have been raised by very much. Other building sites beside the river have also shown made-up ground, though without any structures. The riverside itself must have been very much wider though it could not presumably have reached beyond Friary Street. This problem needs a lot more investigation.

The waterfront could not be properly excavated but timbers were recovered from the spoil. They include pointed posts which would have stood vertically and some planks from above or behind the posts. Pottery from the spoil, and presumably from behind the waterfront, ranged in date from the 13th onwards, and there was probably earlier material further down which was not disturbed²¹.

There was a stone bridge across the river, built in about 1200. It was one of a series on the River Wey between Farnham and Guildford, perhaps built by the monks of Waverley Abbey²². The bridges are of Bargate stone rubble, a local sandstone, and most of them survive, but the Guildford bridge was destroyed in a flood in 1900, after having been altered and enlarged more than once. There may have been an earlier wooden bridge on the site, but the ford continued in use alongside the bridge until 1760, when the Wey Navigation (improving the river for trade) was extended upstream. The ford was immediately upstream of the bridge. The timber waterfront was a little downstream of the bridge, with the 17th c. wharf a little further beyond.

Although the river is fairly small it always has a good supply of water, and it must have been possible for boats, at least those with a shallow draught, to make use of it. Henry VIII had a wharf at his palace of Woking on the Wey downstream from Guildford, but unfortunately there is no documentary evidence for the use of the river at Guildford. There are a few references in the royal records to wine being taken from London to Guildford (though most of it came direct from Southampton by road). A few of the references we have to transport from London show that the wine went by water (on the Thames) to Weybridge, where the River Wey joins the Thames, but the mode of transport from there to Guildford is not specified. The River Wey is the obvious route, but Weybridge is the nearest point on the Thames to Guildford, so the wine may have been going as far as possible by water then continuing overland. There is at least one reference to wine going from London to Guildford "in good and strong carts"²³. When the magnificent roof of Westminster Hall was made at Farnham in 1395, 10 miles from Guildford and upstream on the Wey, the completed timbers were taken to London by road. However, they are very large and this does not preclude heavy goods of less bulk being carried on the Wey in suitable vessels.

¹⁹ Information in site archive, Guildford Museum.

²⁰ GOVER *et al.*, *op.cit.*, 9-10.

²¹ Reported briefly in *Surrey Arch. Soc. Bulletin*, 300, March/April 1996. Site archive in Guildford Museum.

²² D. RENN, *The River Wey Bridges between Farnham and Guildford*, *Surrey Arch. Soc. Research* Volume 1, 1974, 75-84.

²³ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* 1226-40, 122; CLR 1260-67, 42; CLR 1267-72, 106.

Guildford is on a chalk hill and naturally the chalk and flints from the hillside were used in building, though probably not until late Saxon times in any quantity. The surviving medieval buildings in the town are nearly all of chalk or flint and a lot of cellars of later buildings are of chalk. Whether they are medieval cellars or later is not clear. There is a tradition that there was a large chalk wall running parallel with the High Street and south of it, and it is stated quite clearly in an authoritative county history that it existed²⁴. There is no obvious sign of it today, nor any sign on old maps, but excavations in the town in the last six years have found many more chalk walls than were previously known. Some are walls of houses or cellars, but one piece of the alleged large chalk wall was seen behind a High Street shop, only to be demolished a few months later. The same building work also brought to light (and then concealed) one or more large walls running parallel with the High Street. One of these walls appeared to have been dug in a trench about 6m. wide. We were only able to observe and record what the builders had exposed, but apparently the wall continued down for at least 3.5 m²⁵. Many of the shops on the south side of the High Street have a rise in level on the ground floor. This may be because the land is rising anyway, but it may be connected with the possible large wall. Shops are investigated as the opportunity arises, but sometimes the conditions make proper recording impossible. However, a body of evidence is being built up about the differences in level and the extent of stone walls in the town²⁶. If the wall parallel to the High Street existed it is difficult to know why. It appears to be too close to the street to be a boundary or defensive wall, and too far from the castle to be a bailey wall. However, as there is so little physical evidence at present it must remain an open question. It is generally assumed that most buildings in Guildford in the Middle Ages were timber-framed, as most domestic buildings in Surrey were until the 18th c., but there is little evidence. Certainly the buildings which remain above ground are of timber: they are of 15th c. date or later. The normal infill was wattle and daub, with brick being used from the later 16th c.

The earliest surviving building in the town is the tower of St.Mary's church, which is of mid-11th c. date. It is not possible to date it pre- or post-conquest. There does not appear to have been a minster church

in Guildford, though Blair has suggested that there was one at Stoke-next-Guildford, the parish immediately north of the town. However, the evidence is scanty and not conclusive for the presence or absence of a minster church here²⁷.

In 1966-67 excavations beneath St.Mary's church revealed traces of a timber structure which may have been an earlier church. There was no dating evidence, but there could have been a church in Guildford from around 700. The position of St.Mary's church makes it likely that it is the earliest church in Guildford, as mentioned above, so possibly the timber structure was part of the original, or at least an early church²⁸.

The town was divided into three parishes: Holy Trinity at the east, St.Mary's in the middle and St. Nicholas' at the west over the river. Holy Trinity and St.Mary's divide the town east of the river equally between them. Although this is more churches than in any other town in Surrey (except Southwark) it is not many compared with other county towns. St. Mary's parish was entirely urban and Holy Trinity was nearly so although it included countryside to the south. St.Nicholas, on the other hand, had a large, almost entirely rural parish called Artington with a small group of houses around the church at the west end of the bridge (within the boundary with curved corners mentioned earlier). Artington was in the hundred of Godalming, whereas Guildford, including the area around St.Nicholas, was in Woking hundred. This anomalous situation must reflect some earlier state of affairs now lost to us, but it probably explains the boundary around the St.Nicholas area which is very clear on the "Ichnography" and is described in the borough records of 1741, and which can be seen on Norden's map. The description of the borough boundaries reads "*...then round a circular corner of Mr.Brabant's field thro' a little lane north west into Farnham road, so cross that road ... then turn a circular corner north west ...*"²⁹ Such circular boundaries would be most unusual. Is it possible that they mark the 10th c. boundary of the town, or an even earlier Saxon boundary? The land in question is very steep, rising to the west up the chalk ridge. (The similarity in shape to a Roman fort must be coincidental.) Norden marks the northern boundary very clearly, as a park pale, like that around the rest of the park. Henry II afforested the area in c.1154 and presumably there was a good reason why this area

²⁴ *Victoria County History, op.cit.*, 547.

²⁵ The demolished wall was behind 84-86 High Street; the wall in a trench was behind 80-82. Further details in site archive, Guildford Museum.

²⁶ J.D. BOAS, *Chalk Walls in Guildford*, 1996. Dissertation for Diploma in Field Archaeology, Birkbeck College, Univer-

sity of London.

²⁷ BLAIR, *op.cit.*, 97.

²⁸ F.W. HOLLING, *The Early Foundations of St.Mary's Church, Guildford, Surrey Arch. Coll.* LXIV, 1967, 165-168.

²⁹ RUSSELL, *op.cit.*, 177* (sic).

was not be included in the park. It is unfortunate that the two maps appear to show areas of quite different sizes, but this may be accounted for by the technical shortcomings of their respective periods. There is no trace of this boundary today. It has been destroyed by the railway on the north and by housing on the south.

The church of St.Nicholas was very close to the bridge, the river and the ford. In fact, the "Ichnography" shows a branch of the river running past the churchyard wall. There was once an island opposite the church but the channel was filled in later in the 18th c. and the branch of the river is now marked by a road. The church was subject to flooding, not surprisingly. Unfortunately it was rebuilt twice in the 19th century so it is difficult to say much about the medieval church. There are old drawings of it, but they are not very informative, except to show that there had been several additions and alterations to it, making it an irregular shape. There was a rose window at the west end of the north aisle which was presumably medieval and a round-headed window at the west of the south aisle. A local historian writing in 1801 said that a new tower had been built at the end of the 17th c., replacing a round tower³⁰. This would be extremely unusual in Surrey, being found more commonly in East Anglia. However, the round towers there are often of flint rubble, which would certainly be available in Guildford. Although we cannot put too much reliance on the statement about a round tower, it should not be dismissed too lightly either. The church was given to the dean of Salisbury Cathedral and had some important rectors. One has a monument in the Loseley chapel, surviving from the medieval church (having been moved there when the church was rebuilt). He was Arnold Brocas, a member of an important Gascon family who served the English crown. He died in 1395.

Holy Trinity was at the opposite end of the town, near its eastern boundary, and like St.Nicholas, on the south side of the High Street. It was demolished in 1740 after unwise alterations caused the tower to fall. An engraving made not long before shows a church with aisles the same height as the nave, with apsidal east ends to the aisles and a square-ended chancel. There had clearly been early 18th alterations at the west end. There was a western tower with a steeple. All that survives of the earlier church is a family chapel of about 1540 at the south-west corner, built of chalk and flint in a decorative chequer pattern. Records show that there were at least seven altars in

the church and two religious gilds. Holy Trinity seems to have been wealthier and more important than St.Mary's, perhaps because the Guildhall was in its parish and the corporation used it for civic services and other functions. It is unfortunate that the mediaeval Holy Trinity was demolished as it may have had monuments and other signs of the towns-peoples' wealth, which are lacking in St.Mary's. Both churches were given to Merton Priory c.1120, soon after the foundation of the Priory, but the canons installed rectors who paid a pension to the Priory, rather than supplying vicars³¹.

St.Mary's church, in contrast, is almost entirely medieval and there were few alterations to the fabric after about 1250³². As mentioned above, the tower is mid 11th c. It is a central tower, built of the local flint rubble. There are pilaster strips on three outer faces and double-splayed windows on the north and south. The pilaster strips are still visible below the later roof level inside the church, showing that the north and south sides at least were external originally, and probably the west side too. It was probably a western tower at first but as the church has grown it has become central. Arches were cut through the north and south walls of the tower and transepts built around 1120, probably by Merton Priory. Around 1160 aisles were added to the nave and the transepts were extended eastwards and given apsidal ends. Holy Trinity had these apsidal transepts too, presumably also the work of Merton Priory. The aisles were enlarged c.1250 so that they were as wide and as high as the nave, a feature also found at Holy Trinity (and St.Nicholas, although it was a less regular shape). It is often said that the chancel was apsidal, but this is not so. It was shortened in 1825 but the east window was re-erected exactly as it had been, and it is uncompromisingly flat. Also, illustrations before 1825 show the chancel to be square-ended, just as Holy Trinity was. The alterations of 1825 revealed wall paintings in St.John's chapel, the northern apse. They have since faded and been white-washed over, but illustrations of them show them to be in the style of the mid 13th c³³. The main scheme showed scenes from the life of St.John the Evangelist in roundels and may have been painted by the artist William Florentine who was working at Guildford castle in the 1250s and 1260s. During restoration in the 1860s more paintings were revealed on the south but were not preserved. There were no major additions to the church after about 1250, though windows were added

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

³¹ Matthew ALEXANDER, *Holy Trinity, Guildford: A Short History*, Typescript in Guildford Museum.

³² Matthew ALEXANDER, *St.Mary's Guildford: A Short History*, 1982.

³³ J.G. WALLER, *Archaeologia* XLIX, 199-212.

or altered in the 14th c. and later, and most of the church was re-roofed in the 15th c. At this time carved corbels were added to support the roof, mostly in the shape of human heads, with the busts of two angels – the only figure sculpture in the church. In the first half of the 14th c. part, at least, of the church was floored with decorative tiles from the tile-making centre at Penn, Bucks³⁴.

The architecture of St.Mary's is attractive, but not grand. The exterior is of flint rubble and the interior is of chalk, finely cut but simple. It is not what one would expect from a church in a county town, but perhaps, as mentioned above, Holy Trinity attracted the monuments of wealthy merchants, and the elaborate additions to the fabric financed by them. St. Mary's had its gilds, of Jesus and Corpus Christi, and one of the 15th c. angels holds a shield bearing imaginary arms of carpenter's tools, hinting that perhaps a group of woodworkers financed the re-roofing. The town was too small to have separate trade gilds. Unlike Holy Trinity and St.Nicholas, St.Mary's did not have a family chapel. The Mores of Loseley lived in Artington parish (the rural part of St.Nicholas) but the Westons whose chapel was at Holy Trinity did not live in that parish but in Woking. There was also a chantry at Holy Trinity, founded by Henry Norbridge in 1486 but there is no record of one at St.Mary's, nor at St.Nicholas.

St.Nicholas had a chapel-of-ease dedicated to St.Catherine, built soon after 1300. It is only about a mile from St.Nicholas, along a main road, and it seems unlikely that there were many parishioners near the chapel, or that they would have had much difficulty reaching St.Nicholas. The real reason for building the chapel may have been to acquire the right to hold a fair beside it. The story is complicated and many of the details are obscure, but it clearly aroused strong feelings at the time, and for a while the right to hold the fair was granted to the rector of St.Mary's, but by 1328 the chapel had been dedicated and a new rector of St.Nicholas had re-acquired the right to the fair. Once established, the fair was very successful and continued until 1914, but the chapel seems to have fallen into disuse during the Middle Ages.

The chapel is on a hill above the river, which is probably why it was dedicated to St.Catherine. The hill is part of the Greensand ridge and the chapel is built of the local stone, with finer details in chalk. It

is difficult to be certain about the exact nature of the original architecture as the windows have clearly been altered. It is known that a local family who could see the chapel from their house restored the ruins in the 18th c. and they may well have altered it to provide a more picturesque view than it was originally³⁵.

The parish of Stoke-next-Guildford is closely linked with the town as it is immediately to the north and east and the town has expanded into it gradually. However, the church has always been quite separate, although Blair suggests that Stoke was a minster church and that Guildford was carved out of its "parochia"³⁶. Guildford's leper hospital, dedicated to St.Thomas, was established in Stoke parish, at a suitable distance outside the town, at the junction of the roads to London and Epsom. It became a detached part of Holy Trinity parish and was treated for practical purposes as part of the borough.

It has only recently been established that St. Thomas' hospital and the leper hospital were the same place, as there are not many references to them. However, the king paid the chaplain and it is clear from the entries in the Liberate Rolls that St.Thomas' was the leper hospital³⁷. The early history of the hospital is not known, but it may have been founded by Henry II. It survived, unusually, until about 1800, having evolved into something like an almshouse. It was taken over at some stage by the Poyle charity, a local charity founded in 1627 which owned a lot of land in and around the town. By the late 18th c. there was little of the structure left and it was soon demolished. A large private house was built in its place and was replaced by shops earlier this century.

The other religious institution in the town was the Dominican Friary. This was not founded until 1274-5, which is remarkably late for a religious house in a county town. Most other friaries had been founded by then and many county towns had long-established cathedral priories or other religious houses. In 1260 a very small and obscure order of friars had been given permission to build a house in Guildford. They were the Friars de Ordine Martyrum and Guildford was their only house. In 1274 the Council of Lyons ordered that all such small orders should be amalgamated with the main orders. In October 1274 Edward I's son Henry, the heir to the throne, died at Guildford castle at the age of 6, while in the care of his grandmother Eleanor of Provence. She founded the Dominican Friary, almost certainly in his mem-

³⁴ Two tiles were given to Guildford Museum many years ago, and in 1996 several dozen were found laid in the hearths of the house which was once the rectory of St.Mary's!

³⁵ There is no full publication on the chapel, but the information is brought together in Guildford Museum archives.

³⁶ J. BLAIR, *op.cit.*

³⁷ See for example, Cal. Lib. Rolls 1251-60, 62; 74; 492.

ory. His heart was deposited there and his body was buried in Westminster Abbey. It is very likely that Eleanor turned the earlier friary into a Dominican friary, which involved completely rebuilding it. Excavations on the site in 1973-4 showed that there was an earlier building than the Dominican Friary, but dating after 1250. This must have been the Friary de Ordine Martyrum. The Archbishop of Canterbury had been present at the Council of Lyons and soon after that he crowned Edward I, so Eleanor would have had plenty of opportunity to find out about the decisions of the Council.

The excavations revealed a fairly small friary set in a six acre site just outside the north town ditch. It was a fairly conventional plan except that the church was on the south side so that it was close to the town. The road (or the town ditch) leading to it was named Friary Street. The site of the choir stalls was marked by many small bronze objects lost between the floor boards. There were many burials in the nave, including one in a lead coffin in a stone tomb. The name "Margareta Daubeney" was scratched on the coffin lid in writing of the period 1450-1500 but unfortunately she has not yet been identified in records³⁸.

The Obituary Kalendar of the Friary survives but she is not in it. Parts of the Kalendar are now illegible so her entry may have been lost. The Kalendar records 265 people in its surviving state though this includes a few people who were clearly not buried at the Friary, such as kings and bishops³⁹. From gifts of money for subsistence it is possible to work out the number of friars, and there seem never to have been more than 24 at a time. Nevertheless, the Friary must have made an important contribution to the life of the town, and it attracted bequests from all over the county. It provided a higher education for the friars and may also have been teaching the boys of the town. Certainly when the grammar school was founded in 1512 the friars were one of three parties involved⁴⁰.

Excavation showed that the buildings were of chalk and flint, some at least in alternate, decorative layers. A chapel on the north of the chancel may have been where little Henry's heart was kept. The Friary was dissolved in 1538, with a prior and six friars. Their subsequent history is not recorded.

Guildford had a royal castle which was also the centre of royal administration for the county and the

site of the county gaol for Surrey, and for Sussex (the neighbouring county) for many years. The sheriff was based at the castle, perhaps in the keep until 1246 when a hall and chamber were built for him on the motte. The county court was held at Guildford, regularly after 1257, though it is not known exactly where. The archdeacon settled matters of church administration in Guildford, usually, apparently, in Holy Trinity church.

There is no record of the foundation of the castle, but it must have been soon after 1066⁴¹. Otherwise there would have been a large gap in William's network of castles in the south-east. Guildford castle was designed to dominate the town but it would also have had a wider strategic role in the surrounding area, as a base for a mounted garrison. The castle was built to the south of the town and the ditch around the motte almost certainly intruded on the line of the south town ditch. There is no record in Domesday Book of houses being destroyed to make room for the castle, but they would have been at the other end of the plots, along the High Street. The castle was uphill from the town and as the hill continues upwards the castle is somewhat overshadowed by it, but that was of secondary importance. There seems to have been an area uphill from the castle which may have been kept clear as a defence against attack from above (Bowling Green Field on the "Ichnography", also known as Castle Field). Little of the castle survives today, although it was once extensive and luxurious. The motte remains, with the 12th c. keep upon it, which survives better than the other buildings as it continued in use much longer. There are the ruins of 12th and 13th c. buildings in the bailey, including a gateway built in 1256. Many records of building work survive from the reign of Henry III (1216-1272), mostly from the 1230s to 1260s, but it is difficult to relate them to what remains above ground. Excavations in part of the bailey from 1990-1994 have increased our knowledge of the castle, in particular by showing that the bailey was originally smaller and was extended to the present line along Quarry Street around 1200⁴².

The castle illustrates some of the problems of deducing the history of a settlement from earlier maps. The boundaries of the castle are not known for certain, but looking at the 1739 map it is all too easy to trace them along Quarry Street, up Castle Street,

³⁸ R. POULTON & H. WOODS, Excavations on the site of the Dominican Friary in Guildford in 1974 and 1978, *Surrey Arch. Soc. Research* Volume 9, 1984.

³⁹ J.S. PURVIS, Obituary Kalendar of the Dominican Friary of Guildford, *Surrey Arch. Coll.* XLII, 1934, 90-99.

⁴⁰ D.M. STURLEY, *The Royal Grammar School, Guildford*,

1979.

⁴¹ Mary ALEXANDER, dissertation for M.A., University of Reading, on Guildford Castle under Henry III.

⁴² The excavations were directed by Rob Poulton, for the Surrey Arch. Soc. Interim reports have been published for each season and the full report is in progress.

along a road running south, then west back to the ruins at the south west corner along Quarry Street. There are some chalk walls in the cellar of the King's Head public house at the corner of Castle Street and Quarry Street and this information has been transformed over the years into a statement that there was a corner tower of the castle defences under the King's Head. This seemed to fit in so well with the topography that it was accepted without question, but in 1995 an opportunity to investigate showed that there were no walls at this corner that could be a corner tower of the bailey. Similarly, it seemed obvious that the bailey extended to Quarry Street, where the gate of 1256 still stands. There was no hint that there was an earlier ditch. The ditch was discovered at the base of a bank which was thought to be part of 19th c. landscaping but it now seems likely that it is the remains of the bank of the early bailey ditch. This, presumably, was not entirely obliterated when the ditch was filled in and was utilised when a new road was built in the 1860s and houses and gardens were developed, thus giving the impression that the bank was 19th c. The presence of the 19th c. road and houses obscures the medieval topography but it is still possible to suggest the outline of the bailey, using property boundaries, roads and old parish boundaries. The castle remained extra-parochial until the later 19th c. so this helps to define the bailey.

Another problem of topography is the access to the castle. It was built adjacent to the town but the only surviving gate is in Quarry Street, on the far side from the town, and moreover, approached by a road running past it, not up to it. (Quarry Street must be earlier than the castle.) This makes more sense now that we know that the bailey was originally set back from Quarry Street but still leaves the problem of the lack of a gate near the town. The present street plan, and that of 1739, shows two possible routes: Chapel Street and Tunsgate running south from the High Street. Tunsgate, like several other streets in Guildford, developed from a passage through an inn yard (The Tuns Inn) but we do not know whether it was there in the middle ages. Chapel Street probably was, and may have been the main route south from Guildford in order to get past St. Mary's church, which made Quarry Street very narrow. There is another possibility though. At the south end of Tunsgate, where it joins Castle Street, is a large triangular area known as Castle Square. This looks much more like the open area which one would expect outside a castle. It is close to the motte, and to the access up the motte to the keep. The present path which runs through the castle grounds and appears to be ancient bends round to the east as it passes the motte and it may be that it is leading to the site of the original gateway

from the castle to the town. Furthermore, it is heading directly for the south town ditch. It is possible that the missing south-east section of the ditch was used as a road to the castle from the High Street, and that when the castle went out of use the ditch was used very little and was eventually built over. As visitors to the castle were very likely to be coming from or going to London this route may have been the most convenient.

There is no trace above ground of a gateway to the castle, but there is plenty of space for one. The area near the keep, by Castle Square, is very suitable as it would give quick access to the town for the garrison in the keep. At present the keep is approached over a causeway across the ditch on the east side of the motte, and up a sloping path beside the north wall of the keep. (The keep is built at one side of the motte so that the east wall reaches down to the natural chalk, for greater stability.) There are traces of stonework on the north wall which suggest that there was a gate here. The causeway is probably post-medieval: it is more likely that the ditch was continuous and that the motte was approached by a bridge or drawbridge. Indeed, there is a 13th c. reference to "the bridge of the castle" which may well refer to this⁴³. A gateway to the north east of this would be outside the ditch, but this is not impossible: there may have been a further defence connected with the town ditch.

The castle went out of use in the mid-14th c. and by 1379 it was reported that nearly all the buildings were in ruins. Parts were officially demolished for use by the king elsewhere and much of it was probably demolished unofficially for use by the townspeople. One of the lodges in the royal hunting park was improved for the use of visiting royalty but it cannot have accommodated as many as the castle. Certainly on occasion the Friary was used by visiting kings, for example Henry IV in 1410 and Henry VIII in 1534. The keep was maintained as the county gaol until sometime in the 16th c. The castle as a whole was sold by James I in 1611 to a Guildford man who attempted to live in the keep. He made some alterations but gave up the struggle around 1630 and built a new house onto the remains of the 13th c. gateway. It was, perhaps, a sign of the lack of interest in the castle that in 1366 the king (Edward III) granted the town to its inhabitants at fee farm. The farmer, who paid £10 per year to the king in return for collecting the royal revenues from the town (but not the burgrave rents) had recently died, and after an enquiry the farm was granted to the town. This was an important charter, but not the first. The earliest charter dates

⁴³ Cal. Lib. Rolls 1260-67, 220.

from 1257 and among various commercial privileges, it made Guildford the county town of Surrey, and the seat of the county court. This is rather late for a first charter but Guildford was certainly regarded as a borough long before. In the Pipe Roll of 1130-1 the town is referred to as "burgi de Geldeford" and although Domesday Book does not use the term "borough" in reference to Guildford it was almost certainly a borough then⁴⁴.

The town was run by the Gild Merchant, which developed from a group of merchants. There were no separate trade gilds, and there is no evidence that different trades were grouped in specific areas in the town. The mayor was elected by the Gild Merchant and the business of the town was discussed at various "courts" and carried out by various officials – the bailiff, hallwardens, bridge warden, constable, ale tasters etc.

The town has had a market from the earliest times but no market place, in common with other early market towns. Until the 19th c. the markets were held in the High Street itself. In 1592 there were very precise regulations about the location of the types of stall for the Tuesday market. It is possible that the regulations were necessary because of a relocation of the market. It may have been held lower down the street where it widens at the junction with Quarry Street, or even on the waste ground between Quarry Street and the river which was being built up from this date. There were two annual fairs in May and November which were also held in the High Street until the 19th c.

The town was certainly a centre of trade even if it was not on a large scale. The main industry was the woollen trade, which involved many people in the countryside around as well. Spinning and weaving tended to be rural occupations but there were certainly some weavers in Guildford. Its main contribution was probably the more industrial processes of fulling, dyeing, finishing and selling. There was a fulling mill here by the mid 13th c., built by Henry III in 1251, to the great prejudice of two other mills upstream. It demolished after a few years. Later on there were three fulling mills along a short stretch of the river⁴⁵. The dye-houses were probably along the river also, and some buildings on Norden's map of 1607 have been interpreted as dye-houses⁴⁶. A lot of the cloth produced in and around Guildford was of

kersey weave, a fairly coarse cloth. It was dyed dark blue with woad and was known as "Guildford blue". The woad was imported throughout the Middle Ages but in the 16th c. was being grown in Guildford. The cloth was exported to many parts of Europe and beyond: some reached Constantinople. Guildford is not known as a wool exporting town though, so presumably the wool was taken to London or Southampton or elsewhere for export. Certain cloths made in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire were known as "Cloths of Guildford".

Despite the obvious local importance of the woollen trade there are few signs of wealth remaining. As mentioned above, it is likely that Holy Trinity church benefitted from the clothiers' wealth but this has all disappeared. However, there are the remains of several undercrofts (vaulted semi-basement shops) which are a clear sign of a town involved in the import and export trade. The best example is under 72-74 High Street. It is of chalk, with two central pillars supporting a vaulted roof which springs from carved corbels on the walls. It is of very fine workmanship. A similar but much plainer one survives almost opposite under the Angel Hotel, but this has been very much restored. A little way downhill a completely unknown one was discovered in 1993 under 83, High Street. This has a pointed barrel vault and no pillars so is very plain. It originally had a central doorway, unlike the first two, where the door is to one side. Also unlike them, the top of this one is level with the street: normally the undercrofts in Guildford are a little above street level and always seem to have been judging by surviving windows. At 149, High Street the top of an undercroft was removed when the ground floor of the shop was lowered to street level. This has probably happened in several other cases where only chalk walls survive but old photographs show that the ground floor was once above street level. At 149 High Street part of the vaulting survives to show that it had been a vaulted undercroft⁴⁷.

These undercrofts date to the later 13th c. which seems to have been the time when Guildford's prosperity was at its height. The castle had reached its greatest size and splendour and the Friary was being built. The undercrofts may have been built by woollen merchants, or by merchants engaged in luxury trades such as wine, spices or jewellery. We know the names of two 13th c. wine merchants, Matilda de

⁴⁴ E.M. DANCE, *op.cit.*

⁴⁵ Matthew ALEXANDER, *The Mills of Guildford*, *Surrey Arch.Coll.* 74, 1983, 91-99.

⁴⁶ S. CORKE, *Guildford: "A Pictorial History"*, 1990.

⁴⁷ M.G. O'CONNELL, *The Undercroft, 72/74 High Street*,

Guildford, Surrey Arch.Coll. 74, 1983, 101-111. The undercroft at 149, High Street was recorded by members of the Guildford Group of the Surrey Arch. Soc. for the Domestic Buildings Research Group in Surrey. The undercroft at 83, High Street was reported briefly in *Surrey Arch. Soc. Bull.* 284, June/July 1994.

Sumery and William de Farleye⁴⁸. Wine was regularly sent to Guildford from Southampton for the king's use and individual merchants would also have obtained wine from there, as did Richard Ludlow, a 15th c. gentleman from Guildford⁴⁹. We know almost nothing about other trades in medieval Guildford, but the excavations at the wharf produced a lot of leather from shoes and from off-cuts. There are slight hints that there was an industrial area on the west bank of the river, but this needs a lot more investigation. A site near the riverside has produced a few waster sherds which might indicate a pottery kiln, not far away was a limekiln used in the later 12th c. and further north there was a suggestion of copper working⁵⁰. Although there was an import and export trade there is little physical sign of it. Only one sherd of imported pottery is known – a sherd of 13th c. polychrome Saintonge ware which doubtless arrived as a result of the wine trade with Bordeaux.

Guildford had a small Jewish community in the 13th c., another sign of a town of some wealth. The Jews may have moved here during the 12th c., perhaps in Stephen's reign but the lack of 12th c. documentation means that we have no record of them. However, Guildford is a convenient distance from London for travelling businessmen, and had a royal castle. Guildford was not one of the official towns set up in and after 1194 where transactions made by Jews were to be registered in "archae", but Jews lived in many other places besides the official towns. All our information so far comes from the 1270s and 1280s but it records unusual events, when things went wrong, so it cannot be taken as proof that there were no Jews here earlier. The records show that Isaac of Southwark, a wealthy Jew, had a house in Guildford, and that several other Jews lived here. The Jews were almost certainly expelled from Guildford in 1275 when they were expelled from the Queen mother's dower towns, of which Guildford was one. The Jews of Guildford probably moved to London. The remains of a small stone-built chamber behind a High Street property has been linked with the Jews. If it was not a small family synagogue it is certainly something unusual and suggests a prosperity in the 12th c. that has not been guessed at before⁵¹.

Although there are no medieval records from the town itself, it has been possible to find the names of a large number of townspeople. Royal records, bishops'

records, taxation records etc all give names. Some of course are of the "X de Guildford" type, but although they may have left the town they must have had a strong connection with it and they are included in an index of medieval Guildford people which is being compiled. So far there are about 700 names, mainly from the 13th and 14th c. and research is by no means complete. A very few stand out, such as Henry de Guildford, a royal civil servant who died in 1312, or the Brocas family, but generally we have a single reference to someone in a tax assessment or a bishop's list of ordinations. Nevertheless, connections between some are beginning to be found, which it is hoped, will help to populate the streets and buildings of medieval Guildford.

Little work has been done on the size of plots in Guildford. It is clear that they were very long and narrow, but the exact width, or whether there was a standard width, has not been established.

Unfortunately there has never been a large-scale excavation within the medieval town – the Friary was outside the borough, as was the castle of course. During the 1960s and 1970s when very large-scale development took place there were no resources for excavation and although pottery was rescued structures could not be investigated and recorded. Now that there are more resources the government Planning Policy Guideline PPG 16 stifles excavation and sites are still being destroyed without proper recording. Since 1991 all building sites in the town have been monitored unofficially and a great deal of pottery has been recovered. Walls and other features have been observed but only in small isolated areas. It is vital that several large areas should be fully excavated if we are to understand the development and growth of Guildford. The earliest pottery found in the town is from the 11th c. A lot of the pottery is from the 13th and 14th centuries, with less from the 15th and 16th c. Is this because the town was smaller, or were there different methods of rubbish disposal? Excavation could tell us so much, especially in the absence of records. Already a rubbish pit containing 13th c. pottery has been found beyond the borough boundary, and a single fragment of a 14th c. floor tile from a domestic site tells us that at least one household in Guildford had a tiled floor. The spoil from the riverside site produced part of a waster tile from the famous Chertsey Abbey reredos series of the 1290s. What is that doing in Guildford? The site of the

⁴⁸ Cal. Close Rolls 1234-37, 35; Cal. Lib. Rolls 1267-72, 1.

⁴⁹ Cal. Lib. Rolls 1226-40, 12, 51, 59.

⁵⁰ These excavations were carried out by the Guildford Group of the Surrey Arch. Soc. and are reported in *the Surrey*

Arch. Soc. Bulletins 132, Nov./Dec. 1976 and 217, Feb. 1987.

⁵¹ Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews; *Surrey Arch. Soc. Bull.* 300, March/April 1996.

earliest pottery found so far in Guildford (66, Quarry Street) was 3.43m below the road and may have been part of a ditch. (It was found when builders had dug a pit for a new staircase in a cellar.) This is hardly likely to be the town ditch with St.Mary's outside it; is it the site of much earlier ditch, perhaps defining a mound on which St.Mary's was built? Nearby, behind 59, Quarry Street, there is a massive chalk wall 1.18m down, revealed in a builder's trial hole. What was it? There are all sorts of questions like this which

cannot be answered without large-scale excavations⁵².

Guildford remains something of a puzzle. Today, it has the reputation of a wealthy commuter town in a wealthy county, but in the Middle Ages things were very different. Surrey was a poor county, and Guildford was a small town even though it was the largest and wealthiest in Surrey. It contrasts strangely with most other counties in England and requires more study.

⁵² Guildford Museum's Volunteer Excavation Unit monitors building sites in the town. All of these are published in *the Surrey Arch. Soc. Bulletins*, 270, Nov.1992; 282, March/April 1994; 283, May 1994; 284, June/July 1994; 292, May 1995; 300, March/April 1996, pending full publication.

Mary Alexander
Castle Arch
Guildford Surrey GU1 3SX
UK

Stadtgründung, Stadterweiterung und Vorstad – Zwei Fallbeispiele aus dem Kanton Bern

Einleitung

Die Archäologie des Mittelalters beschäftigt sich seit längerem intensiv mit der mittelalterlichen Stadt. Im Vordergrund stehen, wie der deutsche Name 'archäologische Stadtkernforschung' impliziert, Fragen zum Stadtkern, zu präurbanen Strukturen und zur Genese der Städte¹. Das liegt nicht zuletzt daran, dass dieser noch junge Forschungsweig damit den Wert seines Beitrags zur historischen Forschung der immer noch skeptischen traditionellen Geschichtswissenschaft² am deutlichsten zum Ausdruck bringen kann.

Bisher weitgehend eine Domäne der Schriftquellenforschung gewesen ist die Erforschung des Wachstums der Stadt im hohen und späten Mittelalter, das Phänomen von Stadterweiterung und Vorstadt. Bedingt durch die Quellenbasis, war diese Forschung verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtlich orientiert³. Fragen zur topographischen Genese etwa oder zur Bebauungsstruktur und deren Veränderung, wurden von der Geschichtswissenschaft zwar durchaus aufgeworfen, sind aber bisher kaum beantwortet.

Neue Ansätze zur Beantwortung solcher Fragen könnte der Einbezug archäologischer Quellen liefern. Die folgenden Ausführungen sind als Werkstattbericht einer an der Universität Zürich entstehenden Dissertation zu verstehen, welche unter gleichwertiger Verwendung von historischen und archäologischen Quellen die Problematik der mittelalterlichen Stadterweiterung und Vorstadt im Süden des Deutschen Reiches beleuchten will. Die Arbeit steht

noch ganz am Anfang, und hier sollen anhand von zwei Fallbeispielen aus dem Kanton Bern⁴, dem Arbeitsgebiet des Autors, erste Fragen formuliert und erste Thesen aufgestellt werden, welche dann als Basis für die weiteren Forschungen dienen werden.

Stadterweiterung und Vorstadt: Begriffsdefinition im Spiegel der historischen Stadtforschung

In der stadtgeschichtlichen Forschung⁵ werden die Begriffe Altstadt, Vorstadt, Stadterweiterung und Neustadt unterschieden. Es handelt sich dabei nur um historische Modelle, welche in ihrer Zuspitzung sicher nicht der mittelalterlichen Lebenswirklichkeit entsprechen, die verschiedenste Misch- und Übergangsformen aufwiesen.

Die *Vorstadt* lag vor den Toren der *Altstadt*, konnte aber eine eigene Befestigung haben. Als *suburbane*⁶ Siedlung besass sie im Gegensatz zur Altstadt, der Rechtsstadt im eigentlichen Sinne mit vollem Stadt- und Bürgerrecht, nur einen geminderteren rechtlichen Status.

Der Vorgang der *Stadterweiterung* bedeute die Einbeziehung eines Areals in die bestehende Stadt, indem man es durch Ummauerung anschloss. Meist ging damit eine Aufnahme ins Stadtrecht einher. Unter der *Neustadt* hingegen wird eine von der Altstadt rechtlich selbstständige Siedlung verstanden⁷. Vorstädte konnten zu Stadterweiterungen oder Neustädten aufsteigen, aber auch in ihrem Status

¹ U.a. Stadtarchäologie, Gutscher 1994c, d'Aujourd'hui 1995 und Fehring 1996 mit weiterer Literatur.

² Stadtluft, 26.

³ Stadterweiterung 1969.

⁴ Mittelalterarchäologie wird im Kanton Bern (Schweiz) vom Archäologischen Dienst des Kantons Bern (ADB) betrieben, der seit 1984 mit einer Mittelalterabteilung unter der Leitung von Dr. Daniel Gutscher ausgestattet ist. Für die archäologischen Quellen kann sich der Verfasser, Mitarbeiter dieser Dienststelle, deshalb auf das umfangreiche Archiv des ADB stützen. An dieser Stelle sei Daniel Gutscher herzlich für seine Hilfe, seine Unterstützung und für viele Anregungen zu danken.

⁵ U.a. Planitz 1954, Blaschke 1970, Bosl 1983, Isenmann 1988, Borst 1991, Schadek 1990, Engel 1993.

⁶ Der Begriff vorstädtische Siedlung ist unpräzise, weil zweideutig. Im folgenden soll unterschieden werden zwischen präurbanen Siedlungen, welche einer Stadt zeitlich vorausgehen, und suburbanen Siedlungen, welche als abhängige Siedlungen vor den Toren der Stadt liegen. Vgl. Bos 1983, 30, mit weiterer Literatur.

⁷ Die zeitgenössischen Quellen verwenden den Begriff Neustadt auch für Stadterweiterungen, welche rechtlich der bestehenden angeglichen waren, so etwa für die erste und zweite Stadterweiterung von Thun, s.u.

verharren, bis sie im 19. Jahrhundert von den Stadterweiterungen des Industriezeitalters überrollt wurden, oder sie konnten gar infolge von Kriegen oder den Platzbedürfnissen barocker Schanzenanlagen verschwinden⁸.

Aus der Beschäftigung der Historiker mit dem Wachstum der mittelalterlichen Stadt lassen sich zwei grosse Fragenkomplexe herauskristallieren, für welche die Archäologie Antworten liefern könnte. Dies gilt zuerst einmal dort, wo Prozesse zu einer Zeit einsetzen, die noch eine geringe Verschriftlichung aufweisen, aber auch für spätere Epochen, wo erst das gegenseitige Verweben von schriftlichen und archäologischen Informationen das historische Bild verdichten kann.

Gefragt werden soll einmal nach dem Prozess, nach dem Wachstumsmuster einer Stadt: warum, wo und wie haben sich Vorstädte, Stadterweiterungen und Neustädte gebildet, wo liegen die Anknüpfungspunkte? Weiter stellt sich die Frage nach der baulichen, rechtlichen und sozialen Gestalt dieser Siedlungsbereiche und nach dem Unterschied zu jener der Altstädte. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch die Frage nach dem Grad der Integration neuer Siedlungsbereiche in die bestehende Stadt.

Ausgehend von diesen Fragen soll im folgenden anhand der bernischen Landstädte Burgdorf und Thun eine erste, aus der historischen Literatur und archäologischen Befunden gewonnene Auslegeordnung erstellt und thesenartig vorgestellt werden.

Burgdorf

Am Anfang der mittelalterlichen Siedlung stand ein Flussübergang über die Emme, ein aus der Schwemmebene ragender Moränenhügel und ein Sandsteinfelsen, welcher seit dem hohen Mittelalter eine Burg trug. Vom Emmeübergang her zog eine Reichsstrasse über einen steilen Anstieg auf den Sattel zwischen Moräne und Fels und verzweigte sich dort: der eine Weg führte nach Westen Richtung Bern, während der andere das südwestlich gelegene Emmental hinauf zog (Abb. 1).

PHASE I

Vorstädtische Strukturen

Zu einiger Bedeutung kam die Burg ab 1090, als sie in den Besitz der Grafen von Zähringen gelangte.⁹ Vor der Burg lag auf einem Plateau eine 1175 in den Schriftquellen erwähnte ummauerte Burgsiedlung. Sie diente einerseits als Ministerialenwohnsitz, andererseits als präurbane Marktsiedlung, wie ihr Name *Alter Markt* andeutet.¹⁰ Die Existenz dieser Siedlung wurde bei archäologischen Untersuchungen am westlichen Plateaurand bestätigt, welche Holzbauten an der Hangkante des Plateaus vor der Burg zutage förderten¹¹ (Abb. 2).

Durch eine Grabung im nachmaligen Niederspital lokalisiert ist eine weitere präurbane Siedlung, das erst 1273 genannte Dorf *Holzbrunnen* zu Füßen der Burg, gemäss den Befunden eine Gewerbesiedlung aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhundert.¹²

PHASE II

Die Oberstadt West: Gründung einer Stadt als Zentralort des Rektorats Burgund

Nach Ausweis von Baubeobachtungen durch Jürg Schweizer wurde die Burg um 1200 zu einer pfälzartigen Residenzanlage ausgebaut.¹³ Wahrscheinlich im Gefolge der Niederschlagung eines burgundischen Adelsaufstandes um 1191 machte Bertold V. von Zähringen Burgdorf zum Zentralort des Rektorats Burgund, welches er im Auftrag des deutschen Kaisers verwaltete.¹⁴

Auch die Ministerialensiedlung erfuhr einen Ausbau, wie am westlichen und am nördlichen¹⁵ Plateaurand ergrabene, teilweise turmartige Steinbauten zeigen. Sie sind wohl als baulicher Niederschlag der Präsenz der Ministerialen am neu errichteten zähringischen Hof zu interpretieren. Die Schriftquellen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts erwähnen etwa zwanzig Wohnhäuser auf dem Alten Markt.

Diese Siedlung, welche rechtlich ein Teil des Burgbezirks war, war von einer heute teilweise noch bestehenden Ringmauer umgeben, welche mindes-

⁸ Beispiel im Untersuchungsraum: Freiburg/Br., wo die Neuenstadt sowie die Lehener- und die Prediger-Vorstadt für den 1680 begonnenen Bau der barocken Schanzenanlage geschleift wurden; Stadtluft, 105.

⁹ Die Aussagen zur Geschichte wurden, wo nicht anders zitiert, Schweizer 1985 und Schweizer 1987 entnommen.

¹⁰ Nach Schweizer, 1985, 184, im Gegensatz zum neuen städtischen Markt, der seit 1200 in der Gründungsstadt bestanden haben dürfte. Erwähnt wird der alte Markt allerdings erst 1322, und das Marktrecht der Gründungsstadt ist erst mit der Stadtrechtsurkunde von 1273 zu fassen.

¹¹ Zur Lokalisierung der archäologischen Untersuchungen in Burgdorf, siehe die Übersichtskarte im Beitrag von Daniel Gutsch in diesem Band mit entsprechender Numerierung der Fundstellen. Untersuchung Alter Markt Nr. 3: Schweizer 1985, 177f.

¹² Untersuchung Altes Schlachthaus/Kindergarten Nr. 23: Gutsch 1994d mit weiterer Literatur.

¹³ Schweizer 1985, 78-174, vor allem 163-174.

¹⁴ Heinemann 1986.

¹⁵ Untersuchung Alter Markt Nr. 3: Schweizer 1985, 177f.; Untersuchung Truberhaus Nr.4: AKB 2A, 115f. mit weiterer Literatur.

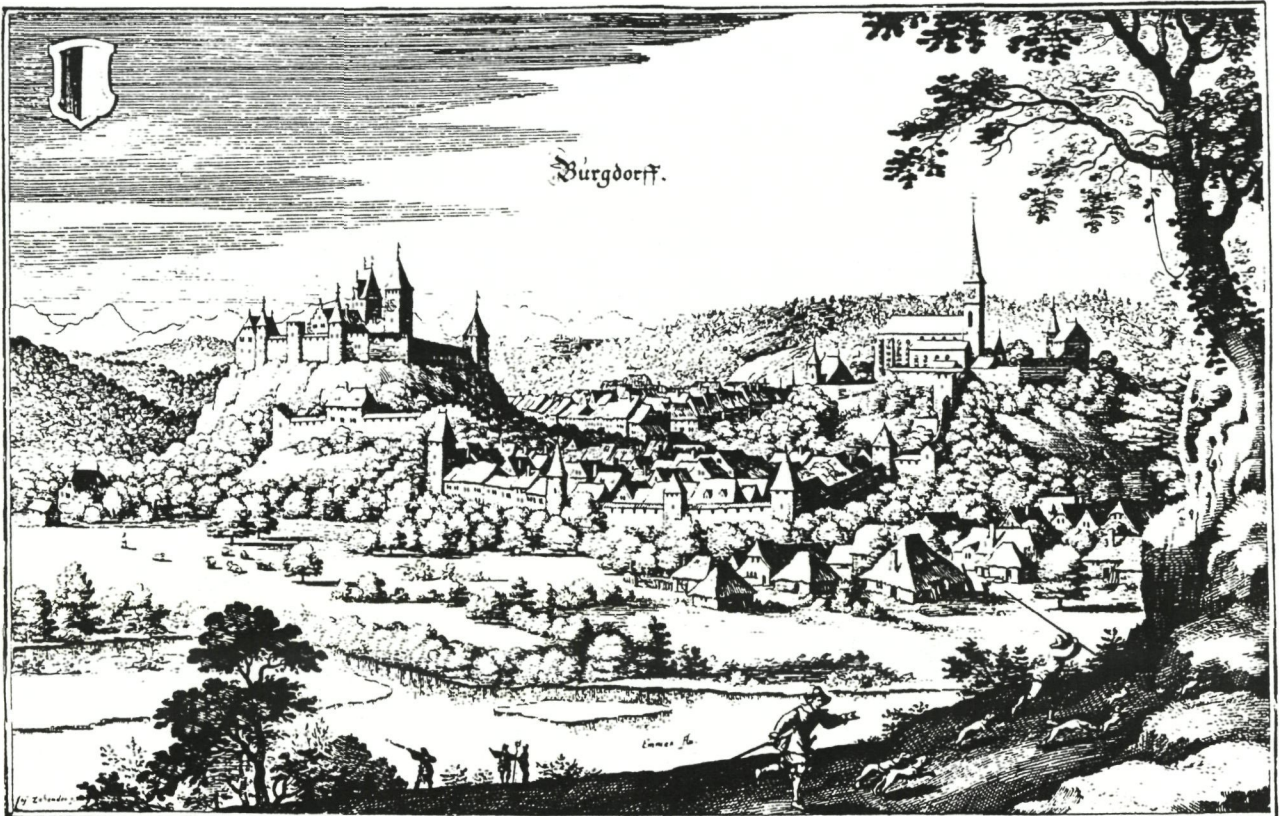


Abb. 1. - Burgdorf in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Stich von M. Merian).

Blick nach Süden mit dem Schlosshügel links, davor auf halber Höhe der ummauerte alte Markt. Auf dem Hügel rechts die Stadtkirche; zwischen dieser und dem Schloss die Oberstadt. Davor, in der Emmeniederung, die Unterstadt.

tens in die Zeit um 1200 zurückreicht: mehrere spätmittelalterliche Chronisten überliefern eine am Tor zum alten Markt angebrachte Inschrift, welche Bertolds Sieg über die aufständischen Burgunder verherrlichte.¹⁶

Entscheidend für die Aufwertung des Ortes war die planmässige Anlage einer Stadt. Ausdrücklich Stadt genannt wird Burgdorf erst 1236, die älteste erhaltene Stadtrechtsurkunde datiert aus dem Jahr 1273.¹⁷ Auszugehen ist aber beim heutigen Forschungsstand von einer Gründung um 1200, wie archäologische Grabungen¹⁸ von 1969 und vor allem in den letzten zehn Jahren nachgewiesen haben.

Die *Gründungsstadt*, die heutige Oberstadt West, wurde deutlich vom Burgberg abgerückt auf dem Moränenhügel an der via regia nach Bern angelegt. Sie bildet ein Rechteck mit zwei parallelen Längsgassen und untergeordneten Quergassen. Die nordwestliche Ecke springt vor; dort liegt am höchsten Punkt des Hügels die Kirche.

Verschiedene am Kirchbühl ergrabene Häuser, teilweise unterkellerte, gassenseitige und giebelständige Steinbauten, lassen ein lockeres Bebauungsmuster rekonstruieren, welches sich an einer Gassenlinie orientierte, sonst aber keinem starren Parzellenraster unterworfen gewesen zu sein scheint.

Der Ort der Stadtgründung gehörte kirchenrechtlich zur nahegelegenen Pfarrei Oberburg. Die Kirche war als grosses und repräsentatives Bauwerk, offensichtlich als Stadtpfarrkirche angelegt und auch als solche benutzt, blieb aber kirchenrechtlich bis 1401 Kapelle.

PHASE III

Oberstadt Ost: Angliederung einer Handels- und Marktsiedlung an der Hohengasse

Die Stadt erweiterte sich zuerst nach Osten und bezog das Areal zwischen Burg und Gründungsstadt

¹⁶ Schweizer 1985, 175f.

¹⁷ Schibler 1973.

¹⁸ Untersuchungen Stadtkirche (o.Nr.), Marktlaube Nr.5 und

Kirchbühl Nr.10: Schweizer 1971, Gutscher 1992a, 1993a, Gutscher & Glatz 1992, Gutscher & Kellenberger 1990; vgl. den Beitrag von Daniel Gutscher in diesem Band.

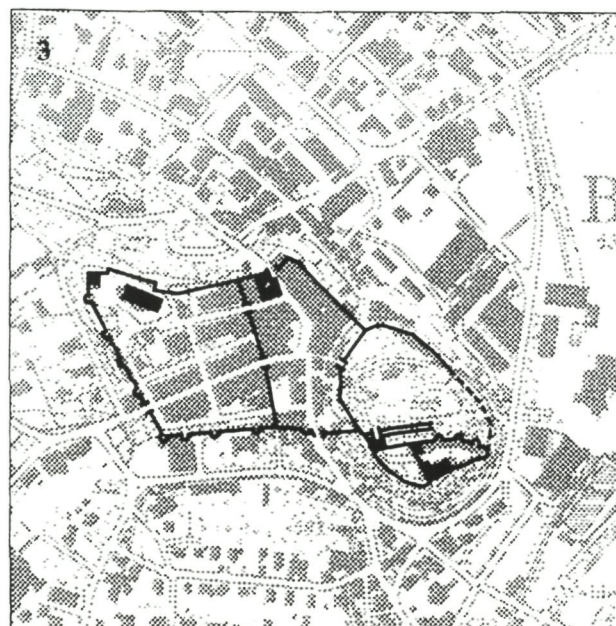
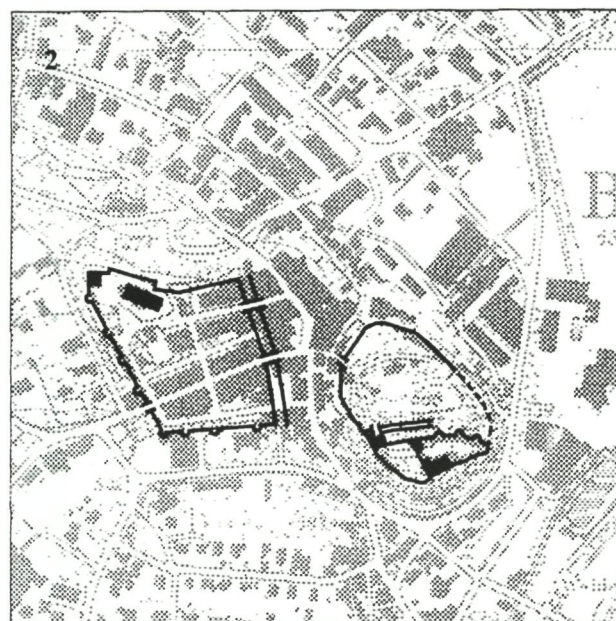
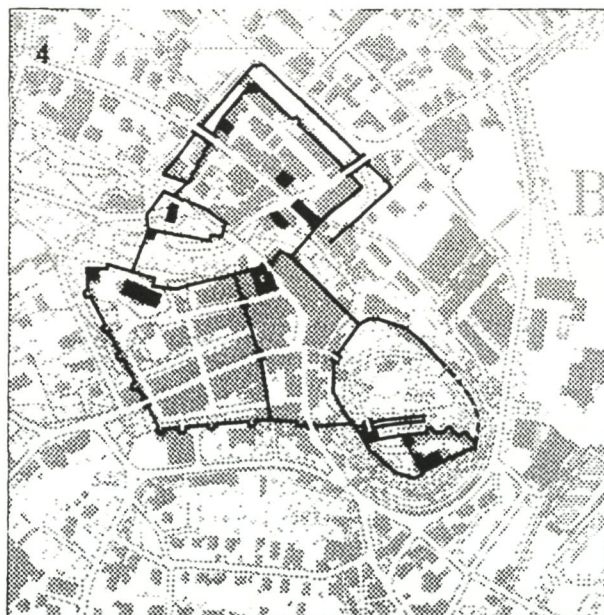
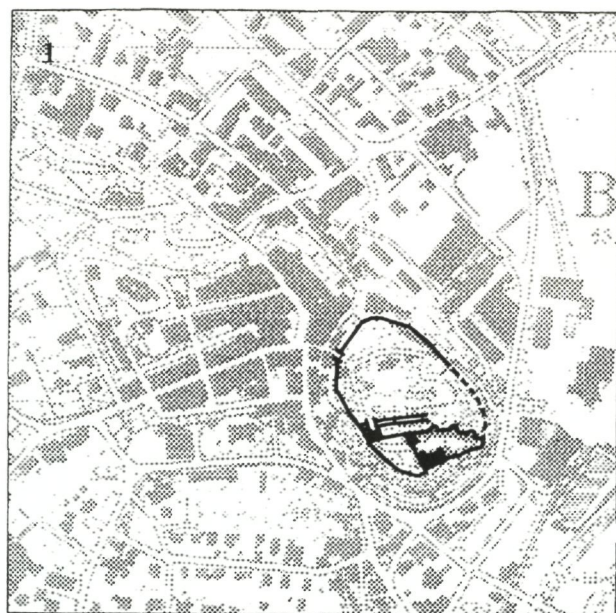


Abb. 2. - Burgdorf, Etappen der Stadtentwicklung
 2.1 Die Burg und der alte Markt (präurbane Siedlung);
 2.2 die Gründungsstadt (Oberstadt West) mit der Stadtkirche (um 1200); 2.3 die erste Stadterweiterung (Oberstadt Ost) mit dem Rathaus (frühes 13. Jahrhundert); 2.4 die zweite Stadterweiterung (Unterstadt) mit dem Niederhospital und dem separat ummauerten Franziskanerkloster (1240-1300)

mit ein, entlang der Strasse nach Westen und um die Strassenkreuzung. Wie und wann es dazu kam, geht aus den Schriftquellen nicht hervor. Jürg Schweizer postuliert eine gewachsene Marktsiedlung¹⁹, die im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts aus ökonomischen Gründen in die Stadt aufgenommen wurde. Begründet wird dies mit der Stadtrechtsbestätigung von 1300²⁰, nach welcher diese Oberstadt Ost rechtlich als Teil der Altstadt galt. Im Verlauf des späteren 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts prosperierte dieser Stadtteil und war spätestens mit dem Übergang des Zollrechts an die Stadt im Jahr 1335 das wirtschaftliche Zentrum von Burgdorf, in welchem Rathaus, Kaufhaus und Kornhaus, Rindermarkt, Fleisch- und Brotschaal sowie fünf Gasthöfe konzentriert waren.

Die archäologischen Untersuchungen durch Daniel Gutscher und Regula Glatz am Kronenplatz²¹ haben hier neue Fakten erbracht. Innenraumschichten und Pfostenlöcher, die aufgrund der Keramik ins frühe 13. Jahrhundert zu datieren sind, können als Reste einer suburbanen Holzbauphase entlang der via regia interpretiert werden. Nicht auszuschliessen ist, dass

¹⁹ Schweizer 1985, 50, 307.

²⁰ Schibler 1973.

²¹ Untersuchung Kronenplatz Nr. 17: Gutscher 1993a, 1993b, AKBE 4.

diese Siedlung in die Zeit vor 1200 zurückgeht, was eine Begründung für die von der Burg abgerückte Lage der Gründungsstadt wäre.

Diese Schichten wurden überlagert von Steinbauten, welche aufgrund von Typologie, Grundriss und Mauercharakter zeitlich sehr eng an die ersten Steinhäuser der Gründungsstadt anschliessen. Das grosse, voll unterkellerte Steinhaus kann höchstwahrscheinlich als das 1335 erwähnte Kaufhaus identifiziert werden. Für eine frühe Datierung dieser ersten Stadterweiterung sprechen auch Beobachtungen auf der Grabung in der Marktblaube²², nach welchen der östliche Stadtgraben der Gründungsstadt bereits im 13. Jahrhundert aufgefüllt wurde.

Zusammenfassend kann eine suburbane Siedlung zwischen Gründungsstadt und Burgareal postuliert werden, die präurbane Wurzeln aufweisen könnte. Sie wurde im frühen 13. Jahrhundert als erste Erweiterung in die Stadt einbezogen und von der Steinbebauung, welche die ökonomische Entwicklung des neuen Stadtteils einleitete, überlagert.

Wichtig erscheint eine weitere Beobachtung: der bauliche und urkundliche Befund belegt, dass die Mauern und Tore auf der Ostseite der Altstadt, welche mit der Stadterweiterung und der damit verbundenen Ummauerung des neuen Stadtteils verbunden war, überflüssig geworden waren, weiter bestanden²³. Der Graben wurde zwar wie erwähnt bald zugeschüttet, aber die steinernen Grenzen bestanden noch während Jahrhunderten weiter. Das deutet darauf hin, dass die alte Grenze im Bewusstsein der Stadtbewohner noch weitergelebt haben dürfte, dass diese Erinnerung gepflegt wurde und gerade in der Hauptgasse auch im Bewusstsein der Passanten bleiben sollte.

PHASE IV

Die Unterstadt: Angliederung der Gewerbesiedlung Holzbrunnen

Zur zweiten Stadterweiterung sind recht präzise Aussagen und Hypothesen möglich. Das liegt einmal an der dichteren schriftlichen Überlieferung, vor allem aber an zwei grossflächigen archäologischen Grabungen im Norden der Unterstadt²⁴ und einer dritten im Bereich des ehemaligen Niederspitals²⁵, zu denen kleinere Sondagen und Bauuntersuchungen treten.

Die archäologischen Befunde zur erwähnten präurbanen Siedlung Holzbrunnen konzentrieren sich auf den Bereich im Schnittpunkt von einem Emme-Nebenarm und der *via regia*; weiter westlich und nördlich gab es laut archäologischen Aufschüssen nur unkultiviertes Schwemmland.

Traditionell wurde die Entstehung der Unterstadt anhand von zwei Urkunden in die Zeit zwischen 1287 und 1300 gesetzt: Erstens lag im Jahr 1287 das nachmalige Niederspital "*apud Burgdorff*"²⁶, also ausserhalb der Stadt. Zweitens erwähnte die Stadtrechtsurkunde von 1273 weder Holzbrunnen noch eine Unterstadt mit einem Wort, während in derjenigen aus dem Jahr 1300 ausdrücklich die Rede davon ist, sie gelte für die Bewohner beider Städte, der alten und der neuen, letztere "*vulgo dicitur Holzbrunnen*"²⁷. Diese Datierung stellt die Stadterweiterung in den Zusammenhang mit dem neuen Herrscherhaus Kiburg-Laufenburg (Neukiburg), welches sich nach dem Tod des letzten Kiburgers in Burdorf installiert hat und wertet sie als eines von vielen Zugeständnissen der schwachen Grafen gegenüber der erstarkenden Kommune.

Die archäologischen Untersuchungen haben dieses Bild erweitert und korrigiert. Der noch heute erfahrbare regelmässige Plan der Unterstadt lässt zwar richtigerweise eine einheitliche Planung annehmen; es schält sich aber mehr und mehr heraus, dass diese Stadterweiterung eine länger andauernde Baugeschichte aufweist, welche bis in die erste Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts zurückreicht.

Ältester archäologischer Beleg ist die 1988-1991 ergrabene Gründungsanlage des nachmaligen Niederspitals²⁸. Um die erste Saalkirche herum wurde ein Friedhof angelegt, in dem laut Dendrodatierung von Sargbrettern um 1240 intensiv bestattet wurde. Der Mauercharakter der Saalkirche ist dem der Stadtmauer so verwandt, dass eine Entstehung zusammen mit dieser sehr wahrscheinlich ist.

Im Norden der Unterstadt ist die erste Bebauung, Holzbauten der Grabung Kornhausgasse 9-11, dendrochronologisch auf die Jahre um 1250 datiert²⁹.

Das erste Steinhaus auf der Nordseite der gleichen Gasse muss zusammen mit dem Ringmauerzug entstanden sein, da es nach Aussage der Befunde in die noch offene Baugrube der Ringmauer gesetzt worden war.³⁰

²² Untersuchung Marktblaube Nr. 5: AKEB 1, 241-266, speziell 242f.

²³ Schweizer 1985, 41f.; Gutscher & Kellenberger 1990.

²⁴ Untersuchung Kornhaus Nr.22 und Kornhausgasse 9-11 Nr. 25: Baeriswyl & Gutscher 1995 mit weiterer Literatur; Baeriswyl in Vorb.

²⁵ Untersuchung ehemaliges Schlachthaus Nr.23: Gutscher 1994d mit weiterer Literatur.

²⁶ Schweizer 1985, 371. Vgl. Baeriswyl & Gutscher 1995, 17, mit knapper Zusammenfassung des historischen Forschungsstandes und weiterer Literatur.

²⁷ FRB III, 194.

²⁸ Gutscher 1994d.

²⁹ Baeriswyl in Vorb.

³⁰ Baeriswyl & Gutscher 1995, 73: Haus Ia.

Auf der Ostseite der Unterstadt belegt eine Baugruben-Aussteifung der Stadtmauer, welche ebenfalls dendrochronologisch in die Jahre um 1273³¹ zu setzen ist, dass die Mauer in diesem Teil der Unterstadt erst damals im Bau war.

Bisher nur aus Schrift- und Bildquellen bekannt ist das um 1280 auf einer Hangterrasse zwischen Altstadt und Schwemmebene gegründete Franziskanerkloster. Die Anlage war mit einer separaten, bis ins 19. Jahrhundert bestehenden Befestigung umgeben, was schliessen lässt, dass damals an dieser Stelle offenbar noch keine Unterstadtmauer bestand³².

Im Gegensatz zu den Beobachtungen in der Gründungsstadt sind in der Unterstadt aufgrund der archäologischen Untersuchungen Normierungstendenzen für die Hausgrundstücke erkennbar. Sie orientierten sich dabei an der Ringmauer, den Strassen und dem Mühlebach, einem mit beträchtlichem Aufwand kanalisierten und begradigten Nebenlauf der Emme.

Auf der Nordseite der rund 9 m breiten Kornhausgasse bildete die archäologisch gefasste Gründungsbebauung ein Muster, welches als eine Reihe von zwischen die Strasse und die Ringmauer gespannte Grundstücke von 16 m Tiefe und 6.75-7.7 m Breite interpretiert werden kann. Ähnliches war auf der Südseite der Gasse zu konstatieren, wo die Grundstücke im Süden vom Mühlebach begrenzt wurden, allerdings lagen die Grundstückbreiten dort zwischen 5.5 und 6.5 m. Ausserdem konnte beobachtet werden, dass vor dem Bau der Häuser parzellenweise Unterlagsplanierungen eingebracht worden waren.

Ein entsprechendes Muster lässt sich in der Nordostecke der Unterstadt, an der Metzgergasse zwischen Niederspital und dem Stadttor in der noch bestehenden Bausubstanz erahnen, nur dass dort der Raum zwischen der Gasse und der Ringmauer etwa 3 m breiter war³³.

Aus diesen Beobachtungen ist eine im Vergleich zur Gründungsstadt stärkere Normierung der Bebauung abzuleiten. Ablesbar wird eine Tendenz zu Massen von 60 x 20 bzw. 50 x 20 Fuss pro Hausplatz, welche im Gegensatz zu stehen scheint zu den in der Stadtrechtsurkunde genannten *casalia* zu 60 x 40 Fuss. Vermutlich sind diese *casalia* eher als fiska-

lische Berechnungsgrundlage denn als Baunorm zu verstehen³⁴.

Die Überbauung der Grundstücke hingegen war offenbar Privatangelegenheit. Die Befunde belegen auf der Grabung Kornhausgasse 9-11, dass jeder Hausbauer seinen Hausplatz individuell planierte und überbaute. Ein erstes Holzhaus entstand dort wie erwähnt bereits um 1250. Reste von im Boden eingelassenen Bottichen belegen das Gerberhandwerk; auch die in der Folge entstehenden Bauten bestanden aus Holz und waren mit gewerblichen Einrichtungen versehen. Auf der gegenüberliegenden Strassenseite war als erste Bebauung ein rückwärtiges, an die Ringmauer angebautes Steinhaus mit Hocheingang zu fassen, welches vermutlich durch einen mit Gewerbeeinrichtungen versehenen Hof von einem gassenseitigen Vorderhaus aus Holz getrennt war³⁵. Die weitere Bebauung entlang der Mauern erfolgte dann im Laufe der Zeit nach dem vorgegebenen Muster: überall entstanden auf den Parzellen rückwärtige, durch Hocheingänge erschlossene Wohnbauten aus Stein und gassenständige, ebenerdige Werkstätten und Läden aus Holz; dazwischen liessen sich verschiedene Gewerbeeinrichtungen und Feuerstellen beobachten, welche zu bisher nicht identifizierten Handwerkstätigkeiten gehört haben dürften³⁶.

Die im Vergleich zur südseitigen Häuserzeile breiteren Grundstücke sind vielleicht durch die unterschiedliche Nutzung – einerseits Mischnutzung mit spezialisiertem Handwerk und Wohnbau von gehobenem Charakter, andererseits einfaches Gewerbe – zu erklären.

Der in den archäologischen Befunden zutage tretende gewerbliche Schwerpunkt in der Unterstadt schlägt sich auch in den Schriftquellen nieder; vor allem entlang des Mühlebachs konzentrierten sich neben den erwänten Gerbereien, Schmieden, Färbetrieben und Töpfereien; dort standen auch zwei der drei herrschaftlichen Mühlen und eine Badestube³⁷.

Aus all dem kann abgeleitet werden, dass die Realisierung der zweiten Burgdorfer Stadterweiterung bereits in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts in Angriff genommen wurde, dass eine präzise und einheitliche Planung dahinter stand, welche über die Jahrzehnte der Realisierung bestimmend blieb³⁸.

³¹ Gutscher 1994d.

³² Lachat 1955. Abbruch der Reste im Jahr 1829.

³³ Schweizer 1985, Abb.325. Die verbauten Fassaden der rückwärtigen Steinbauten werden dort allerdings als Begrenzung eines *pomeriums*, eines Rondenwegs entlang der Stadtmauer interpretiert.

³⁴ Schibler 1973, Artikel XII. Vgl. Baeriswyl & Gutscher 1995, 73; Gutscher 1993, 140.

³⁵ Häuser Ia, IIa und Va; Baeriswyl & Gutscher 1995, 31-33,

41-44.

³⁶ Vermutet wird mit Feuer arbeitendes Kunstgewerbe, wie etwa Goldschmiede o.ä.; ebd., *passim*, insbesondere Zusammenfassung 21f.

³⁷ Schweizer 1985, 363f., 379f., Baeriswyl & Gutscher 1995, 17.

³⁸ Damit stellt sich auch die Frage der Bauherrschaft neu: waren doch noch die Kiburger die Initianten dieser Stadterweiterung?

Der neu entstehende Stadtteil wurde aber erst in einem relativ späten Moment ins Burgdorfer Stadtrecht aufgenommen; das Jahr 1300 ist der terminus ante quem dafür. Die genannten Bauwerke, Kirchen, Klöster, Wohnbauten und Gewerbebetriebe standen also zur Zeit ihrer Gründung noch ausserhalb der Stadt, d.h. ausserhalb der Stadtmauern und des Burgdorfer Stadtrechts, sie waren aber klar im Hinblick auf die entstehende Stadterweiterung errichtet worden.

Die Aufnahme der Unterstadt ins Burgdorfer Stadtrecht bedeutete aber nicht, dass die alten Grenzen verschwanden. Einerseits spricht die Stadtrechtsbestätigung von 1300 von zwei Städten, der Oberstadt und der Neuenstadt. Man unterschied in den Quellen noch im 15. Jahrhundert sogar innerhalb der Unterstadt zwischen dem alten, vorstädtischen Holzbrunnen, von dem zu jenem Zeitpunkt schon lange keine baulichen Reste mehr bestanden haben dürften, und der "*nova civitate*"³⁹. Und als bauliches Merkmal der Grenze zwischen Ober- und Unterstadt bestand bis ins Jahr 1745 das Untertor am oberen Ende des Stalden.

PHASE V

Der alte Markt

Die letzte Stadterweiterung ist hauptsächlich aus der Stadtrechtsbestätigung von 1322 bekannt; dort wurde der Alte Markt von der Burg getrennt und rechtlich der Stadt einverleibt, wobei der Grund und Boden zumindest teilweise im Besitz der Grafen geblieben sein dürfte. Die historische Forschung sieht darin einen politischen Positionsgewinn der erstarkenden Stadt, die ihren Machtbereich auf Kosten der Neukiburger Grafen bis an die Mauern des Schlosses ausdehnen konnte. Markt wurde dort schon lange nicht mehr gehalten. Die archäologischen Beobachtungen lassen für diese Zeit eine Teilaufgabe der Siedlung am Alten Markt schliessen; es ist aber nicht klar, ob sie Voraussetzung oder Folge der Stadterweiterung war⁴⁰.

Wieder fällt auf, dass das überflüssig gewordene Tor bestehen blieb und wohl erst im 16. Jahrhundert beseitigt wurde.

Thun

Die Stadt liegt am Austritt der Aare aus dem Thuner See, am Nordrand einer breiten, vom mäandrierenden Fluss zusammen mit der Kander gebildeten Schwemmebene (Abb. 3). Fluss und See waren durch die Jahrtausende Durchgangssachse auf dem Weg zu einem der wichtigsten Alpenpässe, der Grimsel.

PHASE I

Burg der Herren von Thun mit vorstädtischer Siedlung

Die Lage von Thun und archäologische Befunde in der Umgebung der Stadt liessen die Forschung seit langem annehmen, dass dort in römischer Zeit ein regionales Zentrum gelegen haben müsse. Im Bereich der mittelalterlichen Stadt aber fanden sich bisher weder am Fluss noch auf dem Schlossberg Spuren aus jener Epoche.

Im Frühmittelalter gehörte das Gebiet des Thuner Sees zum Burgunderreich. Explizit genannt wurde der See als *lacus duninse*⁴¹ im Jahr 660 vom Chronisten Fredegar. Ob die daraus abgeleitete Siedlung namens *Dunum* aber schon am Ort des mittelalterlichen Thun lag, ist vorderhand nicht zu beantworten⁴².

Sicheren Boden betritt man erst im 10. Jahrhundert: der erste ergrabene Vorgänger der heutigen Stadtpfarrkirche, eine Saalkirche mit eingezogener Apsis – welche durchaus einen noch älteren Vorgänger ersetzt haben kann – ist in diese Zeit zu datieren und belegt somit die Existenz der Siedlung Thun an der heutigen Stelle⁴³.

Seit 1133 ist im Gefolge der Zähringer ein Geschlecht der Freiherren von Thun fassbar. Paul Hofer postuliert eine dreiteilige Siedlung mit frühstädtischem Charakter, bestehend aus dem *Schlossberg* mit Pfarrkirche und Burg der Herren von Thun, einem *vicus cupri* zu Füssen der Burg, einem Aareübergang sowie der *Sinne*, einem Brückenkopf auf einer kleinen Aareinsel nahe am Südufer des Flusses⁴⁴. (Abb. 4)

Die erwähnte Kirche ist der einzige archäologische Befund für die Existenz einer Siedlung auf dem Schlossberg; Hinweise auf den frühstädtischen Charakter fehlen aber, und die Lokalisierung der Burg ist umstritten⁴⁵.

³⁹ Zit. nach Schweizer 1985, 365.

⁴⁰ Schweizer 1985, 185.

⁴¹ Hofer 1981, 45.

⁴² Eine mögliche Alternative wäre die 762 erwähnte Kirche von Scherzligen, welche einige hundert Meter südöstlich Thuns liegt; bei Ausgrabungen fand sich ein Mausoleum in spätantiker

Tradition; Gutscher 1994b.

⁴³ Hofer 1981, 44-49; Bellwald 1974.

⁴⁴ Hofer 1981, passim; Zusammenfassung 145-154.

⁴⁵ Eine 1963 erfolgte Grabung im Hof der zähringischen Burg hat nicht die notwendige Klarheit erbracht, da nicht sicher ist, ob die dabei aufgedeckten Mauerzüge wirklich älter als der

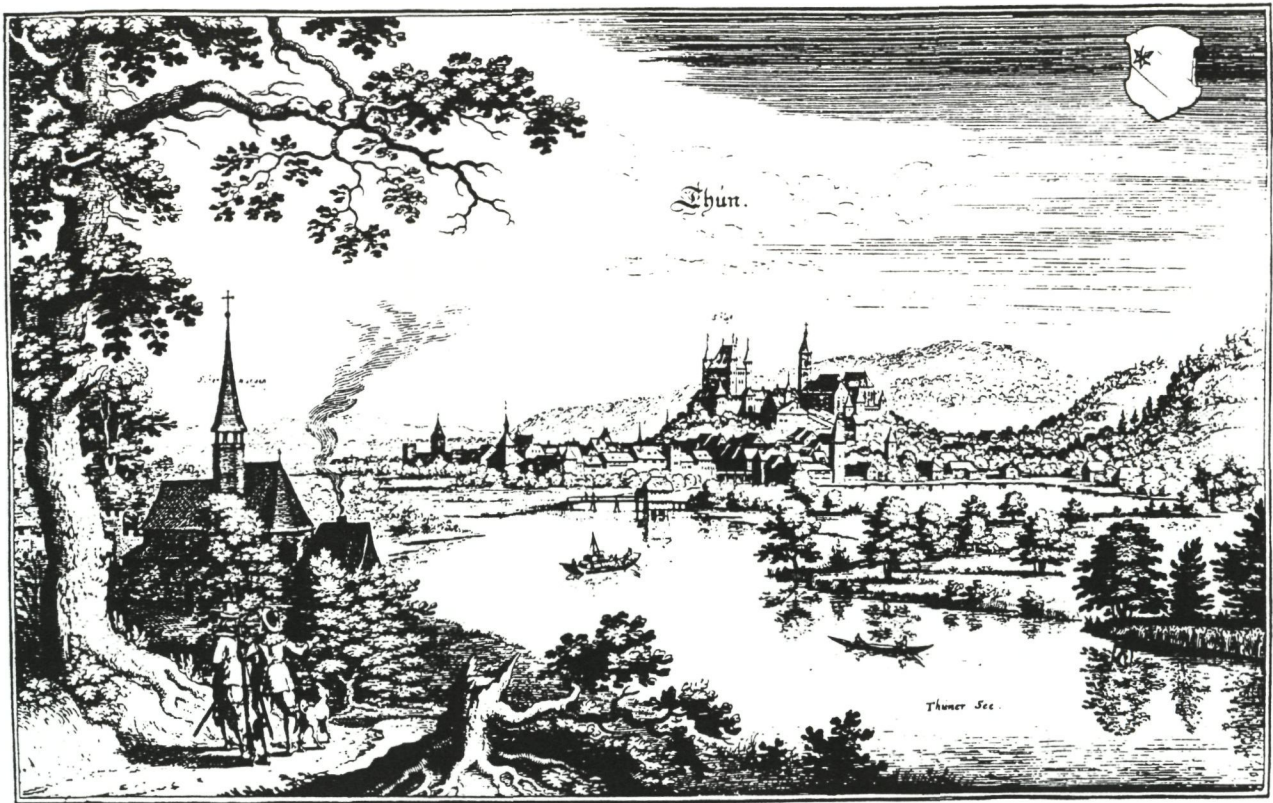


Abb. 3. - Thun in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Stich von M. Merian).

Blick nach Nordwesten mit dem Schlossberg, der links den zähringischen Donjon und rechts die Pfarrkirche trägt. Zu seinen Füßen der ehemalige vicus cupri, die 1261 erstmals erwähnte Brücke und die südseitigen Stadtteile (Sinne- und Bällizinsel). Im Vordergrund die Kirche von Scherzligen.

Die Gewerbesiedlung der angeblichen Stadt der Herren von Thun lässt sich etwas deutlicher fassen: Fest steht, dass der fragliche Bereich entlang des Aareufers im 14. Jahrhundert *vicus cupri* genannt und von der westlich anschliessenden, archäologisch gesicherten zähringischen Gründungsstadt unterschieden wurde⁴⁶. Ein Knick in der Hauptgasse markiert heute noch die mutmassliche Naht zwischen den beiden Siedlungen.

Die Existenz eines Brückenkopfes am Südufer der Aare ist quellenmässig und durch Hofers Beobachtungen der Ringmauer während Bauarbeiten⁴⁷ belegt; nur gibt es keine Hinweise darauf, dass er schon in vorzähringischer Zeit bestanden hat.

Zusammenfassend ist davon auszugehen, dass die Siedlung Thun auf dem Berg wie am Aareufer schon in vorzähringischer Zeit bestand, nichts deutet aber bisher darauf hin, dass diese frühstädtischen Charakter aufwies, wie von der älteren Forschung angenommen.

PHASE II

Die Stadtgründung der Zähringer: Stützpunkt im frisch eroberten Oberland

Im Jahr 1191 verschob sich die machtpolitische Lage im Burgund, als die Zähringer sich gegen den einheimischen Adel durchsetzten. In Thun wurde zu diesem Zeitpunkt der mächtige, noch heute die Stadt prägende Donjon errichtet, eine Wehrburg, welche im Gegensatz zum etwa gleichzeitigen Schloss Burgdorf in erster Linie die militärische und politische Macht der Zähringer repräsentierte. Eine neuere monographische Untersuchung fehlt bisher, aber die burgenkundliche und die historische Forschung stimmen darin überein, dass die Burg in die Zeit um 1200 zu setzen ist⁴⁸. Gleichzeitig verschwanden die Herren von Thun aus der Stadt: offensichtlich mussten sie den Platz mehr oder weniger freiwillig an die Grafen von Zähringen abtreten.

Zähringer-Donjon sind. Zum Standort der Burg: Hofer 1981, 17-24, Küffer 1981, 24, Gutscher 1991a, Glatz & Gutscher 1996.

⁴⁶ Küffer 1981, 26.

⁴⁷ Hofer 1981, 93-97.

⁴⁸ Zettler 1990 mit älterer Literatur; Buchs, Kaiser & Küffer 1994.

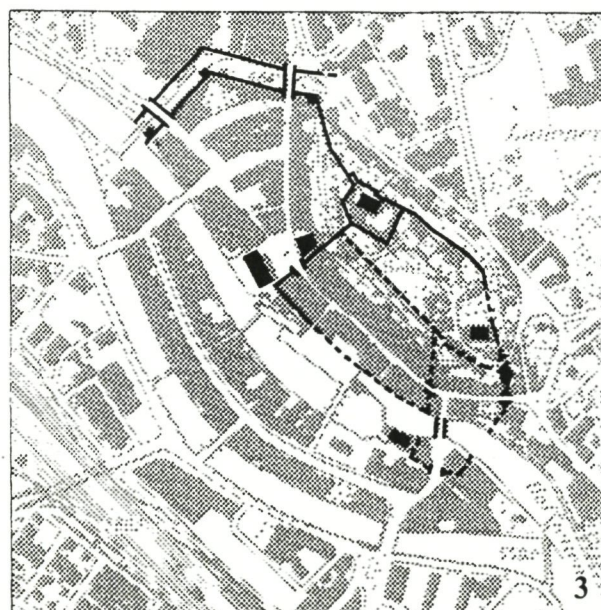
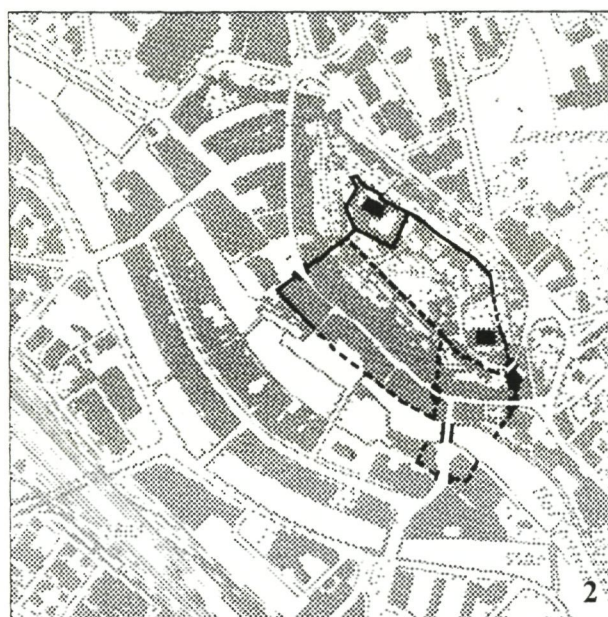
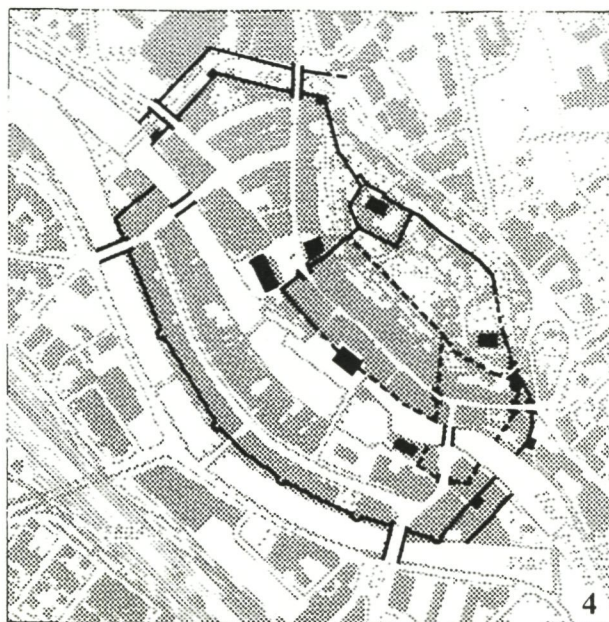
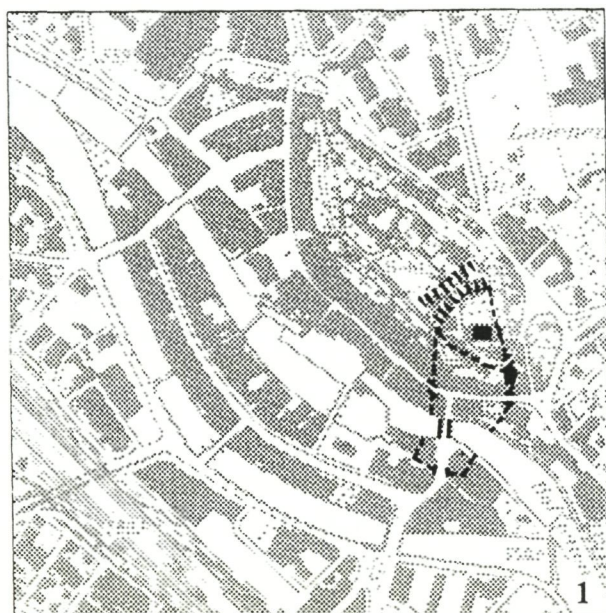


Abb. 4. - Thun, Etappen der Stadtentwicklung

4.1 Schlossberg mit Kirche, südlich davon vicus cupri am Aareufuer, und mittels Übergang (Brücke?) verbunden die Sinneinsel (präurbane Siedlung); 4.2 Schlossberg mit Donjon und Kirche, vicus cupri und westlich davon Gründungsstadt (um 1200); 4.3 erste Stadterweiterung mit Rathaus und Spital (Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts); 4.4 zweite (Bällizinsel) und dritte Stadterweiterung (Lauivorstadt); (um 1300).

Zusammen mit dem Bau der Burg wurde eine Ringmauer um den Schlossberg gezogen, welche ein von der Stadt unabhängiges Tor im Osten aufwies, das noch heute bestehende Burgtor.

Auf dem Schlossberg sind aufgrund von Bildquellen und dem heutigen Baubestand – aber noch nicht durch archäologische Untersuchungen – eine Reihe von locker verteilten Anwesen, teilweise mit turmartigen Steinbauten, fassbar, die nach Auskunft von Urkunden des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts im Besitz von Adligen und Klöstern waren⁴⁹. Es drängt sich – analog zu den Bebauungsstrukturen auf dem Alten Markt in Burgdorf – das Bild einer zur Burg gehörenden, parallel zur Gründungsstadt existierenden Ministerialensiedlung mit Adels- und Klosterhöfen auf⁵⁰.

Entscheidend für die Aufwertung des Platzes Thun ist aber wie in Burgdorf die Anlage einer Gründungsstadt. Das Trapezoid zwischen Aare und Schlossberg schloss sich westlich an den bestehenden vicus an und erstreckte sich beidseits der alten Uferstrasse.

⁴⁹ Hofer 1981, 50-57.

⁵⁰ Schweizer 1987, 28.

Archäologisch untersucht sind bisher einmal Teile der Ringmauer, welche den Umfang der Gründungsstadt definieren, so die östliche Abschlussmauer mit Durchlasstor, welche aber nicht an der mutmasslichen Grenze zwischen Gründungsstadt und vicus, sondern völlig überraschend am Ostende des vicus zum Vorschein kam⁵¹. Offensichtlich wurde die bestehende Siedlung beim Bau der Gründungsstadt in die Ummauerung gleich mit einbezogen. Ein weiterer archäologischer Aufschluss⁵² belegt, dass die Gründungsstadt auch gegen das Aareufer hin mit einer Ringmauer versehen war, dem ein rund 6 m breiter Uferstreifen mit flussseitiger Stützmauer vorgelagert war.

Bei Bauuntersuchungen kamen im heutigen Baubestand Kernbauten aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts zum Vorschein, welche noch bis zu drei Geschosse hoch erhalten sind⁵³. Sie erlauben die Feststellung, dass gassenständige Steinbauten und Parzellen mit gassenständigen Holzbauten und rückwärtigen Steinbauten gleichzeitig bestehen; die bisherigen Erkenntnisse sind allerdings zu verstreut, um ein allfälliges Parzellenraster feststellen zu können.

Vielleicht in diese Zeit fällt die Besiedlung des erwähnten südlichen Brückenkopfes, wobei die wenigen Befunde letztlich mit Sicherheit nur beweisen, dass am Rand der Bällizinsel ein Bereich bestand, welcher sich durch Mauer, Tor und Wassergraben vom Gebiet der zweiten Stadterweiterung abgrenzt und damit älter als diese sein muss⁵⁴. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch die Brücke über die Aare, welche im Jahr 1261 zum ersten Mal erwähnt wird⁵⁵.

Der Brückenkopf übte mit dem Freienhof, der Gerichtslaube und dem Pranger wichtige herrschaftliche Funktionen, mit der Schiffländte, der Sust und der Waage auch wichtige wirtschaftliche Funktionen der Stadt aus, welche wohl auch zum Namen *Sinne/Sinnenplatz*⁵⁶ führten. Diese aber erst im Laufe des 14. Jahrhunderts dokumentierten Funktionen wurden von der älteren Forschung betont und als Begründung für sein vorzähingisches Alter herangezogen. Es ist wohl nicht falsch, den Freienhof als Immunitätsbezirk mit bis in die Neuzeit bestehendem Asylrecht⁵⁷ als frühes Herrschaftszentrum zu interpretieren und

dieses in die Gründungszeit dieses Stadtteils zu setzen, nur ist es vorderhand völlig unklar, ob diese in vorzähingische, zähingische oder erst in kiburgische Zeit zu setzen ist.

PHASE III

Erste Stadterweiterung im Laufe des 13. Jh.: kiburgische Neuenstadt

Die Historiker sehen in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts einen wirtschaftlichen und politischen Aufschwung für Thun. In diese Zeit wird die erste Stadterweiterung datiert, wobei 1250/60, die Entstehungszeit des Kiburger Urbars, als traditioneller *terminus ante quem* gilt⁵⁸.

Während die Stadtrechtsurkunde von 1264 keine Stadtteile erwähnt, wurde die Stadterweiterung in anderen Schriftquellen als "Nüwen stat im Lausanner Bistum"⁵⁹ bzw. als "Altun Nüwen stat"⁶⁰ klar von der jüngeren Stadterweiterung südlich der Aare und von der Altstadt unterschieden.

Archäologisch untersucht ist bisher lediglich die weitgehend erhaltene Stadtbefestigung⁶¹. Die aus der Stadtmauer erkennbare Form der Neustadt legt die Annahme nahe, es seien gewachsene Siedlungen an den beiden sich direkt vor dem alten Westtor verzweigenden Ausfallstrassen ummauert worden.

Zur Bebauung der Stadterweiterung hat die Archäologie bisher kaum Ergebnisse geliefert. So weiss man nichts über die verschiedenen öffentlichen Bauten, welche sich nach – allerdings erst ab dem 14. Jahrhundert fassbaren – Quellen in diesem Stadtteil konzentrieren; hier lagen die Klosterhöfe der Kartause Thorberg und eine Franziskaner-Niederlassung, das Spital, die Schal, die Gesellschaftshäuser der Metzger und der Pfister, sowie das Rathaus⁶². Gerade letzteres wurde vor kurzem zwar bauanalytisch untersucht, der aufgehende Bestand reicht aber nicht über das Jahr 1510 zurück; Bodensonagen zeigten zudem, dass das Gebäude auf einer abgebrochenen Häuserzeile des 13. Jahrhunderts steht⁶³.

Direkt ausserhalb der Sinne wurden auf einer zweiten, südlich der Sinneinsel gelegenen Aareinsel Bälliz anlässlich einer umfangreichen Bauuntersu-

⁵¹ Untersuchung Obere Hauptgasse 83: Gutscher 1991a.

⁵² Untersuchung Obere Hauptgasse 6/8: AKBE 2A, 260-264.

⁵³ Untersuchungen Obere Hauptgasse 58 und 27/29: AKBE 2A, 162-164; Obere Hauptgasse 6/8: Gutscher 1991a.

⁵⁴ Siehe unten.

⁵⁵ Ersterwähnung im Kiburger Urbar: Hofer 1981, 89.

⁵⁶ Hofer 1981, 87-118. Sinne (mhd.): eichen, visieren; Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch, hg. v. M. Lexer, Stuttgart (37)1986.

⁵⁷ Zur Stadtburg und ihrer rechtlichen Immunität allgemein: Meckseper 1991, 89; ein Beispiel aus der Ostschweiz: Baeriswyl & Junkes 1995, 32.

⁵⁸ Küffer 1981, 36.

⁵⁹ Ebd.

⁶⁰ Ebd.

⁶¹ Zusammenfassend Glatz & Gutscher 1996.

⁶² Küffer 1981, 66, 73, 75-77.

⁶³ Baeriswyl 1996; AKBE 3A, 264f.

chung Reste von Steinbauten gefasst, welche ins 13. Jahrhundert zu datieren sind, also vor der zweiten Stadterweiterung, welche, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird, diese Insel ummauerte⁶⁴.

Noch erstaunlicher waren die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung im Alten Waisenhaus⁶⁵, welches westlich der Sinne direkt am Nordufer der Bällizinsel liegt. Als Kernbau wurde ein mächtiges, mindestens zweigeschossiges Steinhaus von 11,5 x über 16 m herausgeschält, welches ins 13. Jahrhundert datiert. Seine Lage und die Reste von Quaimauern lassen annehmen, dass es von Schiffen angelaufen wurde; seine Grösse lässt ein herrschaftliches Bauwerk vermuten, etwa mit der Funktion einer Zollstelle.

Vermutlich sind die Bauten als Teil einer Vorstadt vor den Toren der Sinne zu verstehen. Gebäude wie das erwähnte Steinhaus hätte man aber eher innerhalb der Stadtmauern erwartet. War die Sinne grösser als bisher angenommen? Oder gab es eventuell neben der Burg und der Sinne einen dritten Herrschaftsbezirk der Zähringer in Thun, eben um dieses mächtige Steinhaus – ob parallel zur Sinne oder dieser zeitlich vorausgehend?

PHASE IV

Zweite Stadterweiterung um 1300: die Bälliz-Insel

Die Jahre um 1300 waren in der Geschichte Thuns eine Periode relativer Selbstständigkeit⁶⁶. In diese Zeit fällt auch die zweite Stadterweiterung, die Ummauerung der langgestreckten Aareinsel Bälliz. Den *Terminus ante quem* liefert eine Quellenstelle von 1315, wo von der "*novo suburbio de Thuno, Laussannensis dyocesis*"⁶⁷ die Rede ist. Damit sei eine Besonderheit erwähnt: da in Thun die Aare die Grenze der Bistümer Konstanz und Lausanne bildete, gehörte die Neustadt Bälliz zum Bistum Lausanne und war somit nicht zur Stadtkirche pfarrgenössig, sondern zur ausserhalb liegenden Kirche Scherzligen. Im Gegensatz zu anderen Beispielen, wie etwa Bern⁶⁸ war die Bistumsgrenze offenbar keine Hemmnis für die Stadtentwicklung, vielleicht war das 'Reiten' auf der Grenze eher sogar ein Vorteil für die Stadt.

Die Bildquellen überliefern die Befestigung entlang den Ufern der Insel; der südseitige Aarearm diente als Wassergraben. Zwei Brücken verbanden

die beiden Stadtteile und definierten auch die Ausfallachsen; die durch eine Strasse auf der Mittelachse der Insel verbunden sind. Die Bebauung konzentrierte sich noch im frühen 19. Jahrhundert um die beiden Ausfallstrassen, während der Mittelteil der Insel praktisch unbesiedelt war.

Auch in diesem Stadtteil gab es bisher kaum archäologische Untersuchungen. Die erwähnte Bauuntersuchung direkt ausserhalb der Sinne zeigt, dass im Bereich der Hauptstrassen von Anfang an Rieppenparzellierung mit rückwärtigen, zwei- bis dreigeschossigen, steinernen Bauten und Holzbauten an der Gasse dominierte; daneben war aber auch ein gassenseitiges Steinhaus zu fassen.

Wieder ist zu konstatieren, dass die Grenze zwischen der Sinne und der Stadterweiterung, dem Bälliz bestehen blieb: der Westarm des Wassergrabens bestand noch um 1700⁶⁹, der ehemalige Torturm als Zeitglockenturm sogar bis ins Jahr 1807⁷⁰.

PHASE V

Lauitor-Vorstadt

Terminus ante quem für die letzte Stadterweiterung ist das Jahr 1346, als in einer Quellenstelle ein Haus "*zwischen dien toren an der Lowinen*"⁷¹ genannt wurde. Sie ist zugleich Beleg dafür, dass das alte Tor damals noch bestand.

Fazit

Thesen zur Stadtgründung und Stadterweiterung

Die beiden zähringischen Stadtgründungen Burgdorf und Thun erfolgten nicht auf der grünen Wiese, sondern knüpften an bestehende präurbane Siedlungsstrukturen an. Diese standen zwar mit einer Burg in Verbindung, gingen aber als Siedlungen mit Gewerbe, Kirche und Markt in ihrer Bedeutung über den Status reiner Vorburgen hinaus und dürften – gerade auch im Hinblick auf ihre Verkehrslage an Reichsstrassen und schiffbaren Flüssen – zentralörtlichen Charakter aufgewiesen haben.

Ausgehend von dieser These und den Beobachtungen in den beiden gewählten Städten kann ein erstes Stufenmodell für Stadtgründungen und -erweiterungen formuliert werden.

⁶⁴ Untersuchung Thun/Bälliz 71-75, Gutscher 1992b.

⁶⁵ Untersuchung Altes Waisenhaus; unpubl. Manuskript Archiv ADB.

⁶⁶ Küffer 1981, 40.

⁶⁷ FRB IV 648.

⁶⁸ Östlich der Aare und damit im Bistum Konstanz befand sich nur das Siechenhaus, der Klosterlistutz; Gutscher 1994a.

⁶⁹ Verlässliche Umzeichnung bei Hofer 1981, 103.

⁷⁰ Eine Ansicht von Johann Knechtenhofer zeigt ihn noch 1804; Hofer 1981, Tafel 17.

⁷¹ FRB VII, 169.

Stufe 1

Die beiden Gründungsstädte knüpften an bestehende Siedlungen an, räumlich überlagerten sie diese aber nicht, sondern wurden daneben gesetzt. Die Gründungsstadt konnte einfach an die ältere Siedlung angeschlossen werden, quasi als 'Stadterweiterung'. Wie in Thun konnte eine gemeinsame Ringmauer die beiden Siedlungen umschliessen, oder die räumliche Trennung konnte wie in Burgdorf so weit gehen, dass jeder der einzelnen Bereiche für sich alleine stand, und sowohl eine eigene Befestigung wie eine eigene Rechtsstellung besass, und dies, obwohl alle drei Siedlungen derselben Herrschaft unterstanden.

Stufe 2

Eine gewisse Zeit konnten deshalb Gründungsstadt und präurbane Siedlungen nebeneinander bestehen.

Stufe 3

Die Gründungsstadt wuchs; dabei waren die präurbanen Siedlungen bevorzugte Anknüpfungspunkte für räumliche Ausdehnungen. Sie wurden meist als erste Stadterweiterung durch Ummauerung von der Gründungsstadt vereinnahmt. Dabei konnte es vorkommen, dass diese Stadterweiterung nur das Areal der älteren Siedlung umfasste, meistens aber waren sie grösser angelegt und umfassten nicht überbautes Gebiet, waren somit auf Zuwachs ausgelegt.

Die Planung und der Bau solcher Stadterweiterungen konnte sich über Jahrzehnte erstrecken. Bestimmende Elemente der Planung waren bestehende Bebauung, welche, wie etwa der Bereich um das Niederspital in der Burgdorfer Unterstadt zeigt, respektiert wurde, das Stück Ausfallstrasse oder Fluss, welches in die Stadterweiterung integriert werden sollte und der Verlauf der Ringmauer. Die Frage der Ur-Parzellierung ist momentan nicht zu beantworten; bereits das Beispiel Burgdorf zeigt die Komplexität der Problematik, wenn man das Bebauungsmuster der Gründungsstadt mit dem der Unterstadt vergleicht.

Stufe 4

Zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt wurde der neu entstandene Stadtteil ins Stadtrecht aufgenommen. Das Beispiel Burgdorfer Unterstadt zeigt, dass dieser Zeitpunkt Jahrzehnte nach dem Baubeginn der Stadterweiterung sein konnte.

Dabei blieb die Erinnerung an den Unterschied zwischen Altstadt und dem neuen Stadtteil während

des ganzen Mittelalters erhalten; so wie sich dieser Stadtteil dann seinerseits von weiteren Stadterweiterungen abgrenzte. Das zeigt sich an den in den Schriftquellen fassbaren Benennungen; sichtbarer Ausdruck war die Erhaltung der alten Mauern und Stadttore, welche durch die Stadterweiterung eigentlich überflüssig geworden wären. Solche Befestigungsreste konnten sogar in der frühen Neuzeit neu errichtet werden⁷² und bleiben oft bis zur Entfestigung des 19. Jahrhunderts stehen.

Stufe 5

Die expandierende Stadt wuchs weiter entlang der Verkehrsachsen. Die letzten Stadterweiterungen von Thun und Burgdorf im späten 13./frühen 14. Jahrhundert überforderten die wirtschaftliche Leistungsfähigkeit der Städte; sie wurden nicht mehr vollständig überbaut.

Abkürzungen

ADB	Archäologischer Dienst der Kantons Bern
AKBE	Archäologie im Kanton Bern
AS	Archäologie der Schweiz
FS	Festschrift
FRB	Fontes Rerum Bernensium
JbSGUF	Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte
JbHMTh	Jahrbuch des Museums Schloss Thun
NSBV	Nachrichten des Schweizerischen Burgenvereins
ZAM	Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters

Bibliographie

- AKBE 1-3: *Archäologie im Kanton Bern*, Hrsg. D. GUTSCHER & P.J. SUTER, Bern, 1990-1994.
 AKBE 4: *Archäologie im Kanton Bern 3 B*, Hrsg. D. GUTSCHER & P.J. SUTER, in Vorbereitung.
 FRB: *Fontes Rerum Bernensium*, 10 Bde, Bern, 1883ff.
 Stadtluft: *Stadtluft, Hirsebrei und Bettelmönch, Die Stadt um 1300*, Hrsg. Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg/Stadt Zürich, Stuttgart, 1992.
 Stadtarchäologie: *Stadtarchäologie in Deutschland und den Nachbarländern*, Hrsg. G.P. FEHRING,

⁷² Der Torturm (Käfigturm) der ersten Stadterweiterung von Bern, welche ins Jahr 1256-1260 datiert wird, wurde bei der zweiten Stadterweiterung 1344-46 überflüssig. Seit 1405 als

Gefängnis benutzt, errichtete man ihn, um 4 m nach Westen versetzt, in den Jahren 1641-44 völlig neu, da er „der ganzen Stadt nit eine geringe zier geben“; Hofer 1957, 129f.

- Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte 19, Bonn, 1988.
- Stadterweiterung: *Stadterweiterung und Vorstadt*, Hrsg. E. MASCHKE & J. SYDOW, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg 51, Stuttgart, 1969.
- Zähringer I-III: *Die Zähringer*, Hrsg. H. SCHADEK & K. SCHMID, Sigmaringen, 1986-1990.
- BAERISWYL A. 1992: Fundbericht Burgdorf Kornhaus, *JbSGUF* 75, 234 f.
- BAERISWYL A. 1996: Archäologische Erkenntnisse zur Baugeschichte, in: *Rathaus Thun, Umbau und Renovation 1993-1996*, Hrsg. Hochbauamt, Thun, 4-7.
- BAERISWYL A. in Vorb.: *Burgdorf Kornhausgasse 9-11. Die archäologische und historische Erforschung eines Gerbereiviertels in der Burgdorfer Unterstadt*, Schriftenreihe des ADB, in Vorbereitung.
- BAERISWYL A. & JUNKES M. 1995: *Der Unterhof in Diessenhofen, Von der Adelsburg zum Ausbildungszentrum*, Archäologie im Thurgau 3, Frauenfeld.
- BAERISWYL A. & GUTSCHER D. 1995: *Burgdorf Kornhaus, Eine mittelalterliche Häuserzeile in der Burgdorfer Unterstadt*, Schriftenreihe des ADB, Bern.
- BELLWALD U. 1974: *Stadtkirche Thun*, Schweizerische Kunstführer, Basel.
- BLASCHKE K. 1970: Altstadt – Neustadt – Vorstadt, *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 57, 350-362.
- BORST O. 1991: "Burg" und "Stadt", in: *Das Andere wahrnehmen. FS August Nitschke*, Hrsg. M. KINTZINGER, W. STÜRNER & J. ZAHLTEN, Köln, 295-308.
- BOSL K. 1983: *Kernstadt-Burgstadt, Neustadt, Vorstadt in der europäischen Stadtgeschichte*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte 1983, 1, München.
- BUCHS H., KAISER P. & KÜFFER P. 1994: Burgturm und Stadtgeschichte, *NSBV* 3, 76-80.
- D'AUJOURDHUI R. 1995: Zur archäologischen Stadtforschung im deutschsprachigen Gebiet Europas: Standortbestimmung und Zukunftsaufgaben, *ZAM*, Beiheft 9, 37-52.
- ENGEL E. 1993: *Die deutsche Stadt des Mittelalters*, München.
- FEHRING G.P. 1996: *Stadtarchäologie in Deutschland*, Archäologie in Deutschland, Sonderheft, Stuttgart.
- GLATZ R. & GUTSCHER D. 1996: Kanton Bern, in: *Stadt- und Landmauern* 2, Hrsg. Institut der Denkmalpflege der ETH Zürich, Zürich, 61-99.
- GUTSCHER D. 1989: Rettungsgrabungen an der Oberen Hauptgasse 6 und 8 in Thun, *JbHMTh*, 29.
- GUTSCHER D. 1989a: Fundbericht Burgdorf Kornhaus, Schlachthaus, *JbSGUF* 72, 338f.
- GUTSCHER D. 1990a: Fundbericht Thun, *JbSGUF* 73, 238f.
- GUTSCHER D. 1990b: Stadtmauerfund an der Oberen Hauptgasse 83, *JbHMTh*, 18-21.
- GUTSCHER D. 1991a: Fundbericht Thun, *JbSGUF* 74, 297.
- GUTSCHER D. 1991b: Fundbericht Burgdorf Schlachthaus, *JbSGUF* 74, 297.
- GUTSCHER D. 1992a: Fundbericht Burgdorf Kirchbühl, *JbSGUF* 75, 233.
- GUTSCHER D. 1992b: Thun Bälliz 71-75. Die Ergebnisse der Bauforschungen am aufgehenden Mauerwerk 1987 und 1988, *AKBE* 2B, 429-440.
- GUTSCHER D. 1993a: Fragen zur zähringischen Gründungsstadt. Der Modellfall Burgdorf, in: *Archäologie des Mittelalters und Bauforschung im Hanse-raum*, Hrsg. M. GLÄSER, Rostock, 137-142.
- GUTSCHER D. 1993b: Fundbericht Burgdorf Kronenplatz, *JbSGUF* 76, 225 f.
- GUTSCHER D. 1994a: Bern, Klösterlistutz, *AKBE* 3B, 489-494.
- GUTSCHER D. 1994b: Thun, Kirche Scherzlingen, *AKBE* 3B, 521-550.
- GUTSCHER D. 1994c: Zum Forschungsstand der Stadtarchäologie – Burgdorf als Modellfall, *Archäologie der Schweiz* 2 (1993), 99-102.
- GUTSCHER D. 1994d: Burgdorf, Altes Schlachthaus, Rettungsgrabung im ehemaligen Niederspital, *AKBE* 3A, 199-206.
- GUTSCHER D. & GLATZ R. 1992: Fundbericht Burgdorf Kirchbühl, *JbSGUF* 75, 233 f.
- GUTSCHER D. & KELLENBERGER H. 1990: Die Rettungsgrabungen in der Burgdorfer Marklaube 1985, *AKBE* 1, 241-267.
- HEINEMANN H. 1986: Die Zähringer und Burgund, in: *Die Zähringer* I, 59-71.
- HOFER P. 1952: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Bern. Stadt Bern I*, Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz 28, Basel.
- HOFER P. 1981: *Die Stadtanlage von Thun*, Thun.
- ISENMANN E. 1988: *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter*, Stuttgart.
- KELLER H.G. 1932: Die Erbauung der Burg und die Entstehung der Stadt Thun, *Zeitschrift für Schweizer Geschichte* 12, 265-299.
- KELLER K. 1980: *Die Städte der Grafen von Kyburg*, Winterthur.
- KÜFFER P. 1979: Die Bällizbefestigung, *JbHMTh*, 4-21.
- KÜFFER P. 1981: *Thun. Geschichtliche Zusammenfassung von einst bis heute*, Thun.
- LACHAT P. 1955: *Das Barfüsserkloster Burgdorf*, Burgdorf.

- LADNER P. 1990: Zähringische Städtegründungen und zähringische Stadtrechtüberlieferung in der Westschweiz, Schweizer Vorträge und neue Forschungen, in: *Die Zähringer* III, 37-48.
- MECKSEPER C. 1991: *Kleine Kunstgeschichte der deutschen Stadt im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt (2).
- PLANITZ H. 1954: *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter*, (Lizenzausgabe des unveränd. Nachdrucks 1976 der Auflage von 1954), Wiesbaden, 1996.
- SCHADEK H. 1990: *Vorstädtische Siedlung und "Gründungsstädte" der Zähringer*, Archäologie und Geschichte 1, Sigmaringen, 417-456.
- SCHIBLER H. 1973: *Die Handfeste der Stadt Burgdorf*, Burgdorf.
- SCHWEIZER J. 1971: Die Grabungen in der Stadtkirche Burgdorf 1968/69, in: *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch* 1971, 15-73.
- SCHWEIZER J. 1985: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Bern. Landband 1: Die Stadt Burgdorf*, Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz 75, Basel.
- SCHWEIZER J. 1987: *Kunstführer Berner Oberland*, Bern.
- ZETTLER A. 1990: Zähringerburgen, in: *Die Zähringer* III, 95-176.

Armand Baeriswyl
Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern
Thunstrasse 18
CH - 3005 Bern
Schweiz

Paul Courtney

Leicester: the archaeology of space in an industrial city

Despite extensive excavations, especially since the 1960s, little trace of pre-twelfth century Leicester has been found. For instance, only a single pre-Norman coin has been recovered from the many excavations in the city, a St. Edmund memorial penny of c.890-920 from the Shires (Fig. 3a) (Courtney, forthcoming). This has even led to speculation that the early *burh* may have lain outside the Roman and medieval walls. As in other European towns, Leicester's archaeology has of political and financial necessity been rescue rather than research led. The current study resulted as a spin-off from documentary research on two major excavations in Leicester in the 1980s (The Shires and Causeway Lane: Fig. 3a-b & c). Its aim was use an interdisciplinary approach to evaluate the evidence of archaeology, documents, buildings and topography. Particular attention was paid to processes of formation and survival of both the archaeological and documentary record. The likelihood of Leicester reflecting common patterns of development in NW European towns, rather than its uniqueness, was also stressed.

Background

The modern city of Leicester has a population of around 300,000. It may have been a tribal centre in the late Iron age but its history becomes clearer in the Roman period; when it was a *civitas* capital, *Ratae Corieltavorum*. The Roman town had a classic grid plan and acquired stone walls around the end of the 2nd century. After the 4th century its history is obscure. It became the centre of the bishop of Middle Anglia from at least 737, and possibly as early as the 680s. Residual pottery has been found from the early and middle Saxon period on several sites within the walls but no structural evidence. Recently a sunken hut and associated ditch have been discovered outside the south gate (Fig. 3d) (Finn 1994). However, this may be a rural farmstead with no urban connection.

In the 870s the Viking invasion resulted in the bishop fleeing to Dorchester. Leicester fell within the

Danelaw, the area of Danish control. It was recaptured by Aethelflaed, Lady of the Mercians in 918 shortly before her death that summer. It later became the *caput* of the county of Leicestershire. A mint was established at Leicester in the reign of Athelstan, 925-39 (Blunt *et al.* 1989, 256 & 261). In the Domesday Book of c.1086 records 322 houses and a further 55 burgesses. This suggests it was larger than Nottingham, Derby or Northampton but perhaps half the size of Lincoln. A Norman motte and bailey, in the SW corner of the Roman/medieval defences, was later converted to a stone castle.

Leicester served as a county town and a regional marketing centre. Domesday Book revealed that a number of lords had fees in the town. However, at the beginning of the 12th century Robert de Meulan ‘with the King’s aid and his own cunning brought the whole town under his control’ (*Ord. Vit.* vi, 18-20). Only the bishop of Lincoln’s fee, which mostly comprised land in the east field of the borough, was able to subsequently maintain a separate existence. Leicester Abbey was founded to the north of the borough c.1133. In the 14th century the earls of Lancaster, then the borough’s lords, created a walled ecclesiastical enclosure to the south of the town. The Newarke (‘new work’) enclosed a hospital and collegiate church, originally intended as a mausoleum for the dynasty. In the 17th century Leicester developed a hosiery industry, initially cottage based. This industry, increasingly factory based, was to provide the basis for the town’s impressive 19th century prosperity.

Saxo-Norman Leicester

Plan analysis is less revealing in ‘ancient’ towns like Leicester than in the newer planted towns of the late 12th and 13th centuries with their planned extensions. This is probably due to the long-term importance of such the unplanned processes of infilling and property subdivision processes. Nevertheless the topography of Leicester offers valuable clues. The most important feature is the dominance of the north-



Fig. 1. - *Stukeley's 1722 map of Leicester.*

south axial street running between the north and south gates. This was the widest street within the walls until road widening for a new tram way system in 1902. As Buckley and Lucas (1987, 56), have suggested, the north-south axial road appears to curve around the Roman forum suggesting this was still an obstacle when the road was formed (Fig. 3). This road was known as the 'High Street' in the Middle Ages though by the 16th century the name had shifted to the road leading to the East gate (the former Swinesmarket). This was almost certainly also the road described as the *magnus vicus* (great street) in a 12th century charter (Stenton 1920, nos 346 & 259).

Particularly telling is an inquest of 1253 into the origin of gafolpence and pontage, both customary payments to the lord. Gafolpence was an archaic payment of late Saxon origin associated with burgage tenure (Tait 1936, 90-91). We need not bother with the apocryphal explanation for the origin of gafolpence given to the inquest. However, the inquest stated that 3d a year was due from each house with a gable overlooking the High St. (*RBL*, i, 39-43). It is just possible that the term 'High Street' covered both N-S and E-W axial roads which were sometimes termed the *altas sratas* (high streets) as in an edict of 1355 when the other streets were termed *venella* (lanes)

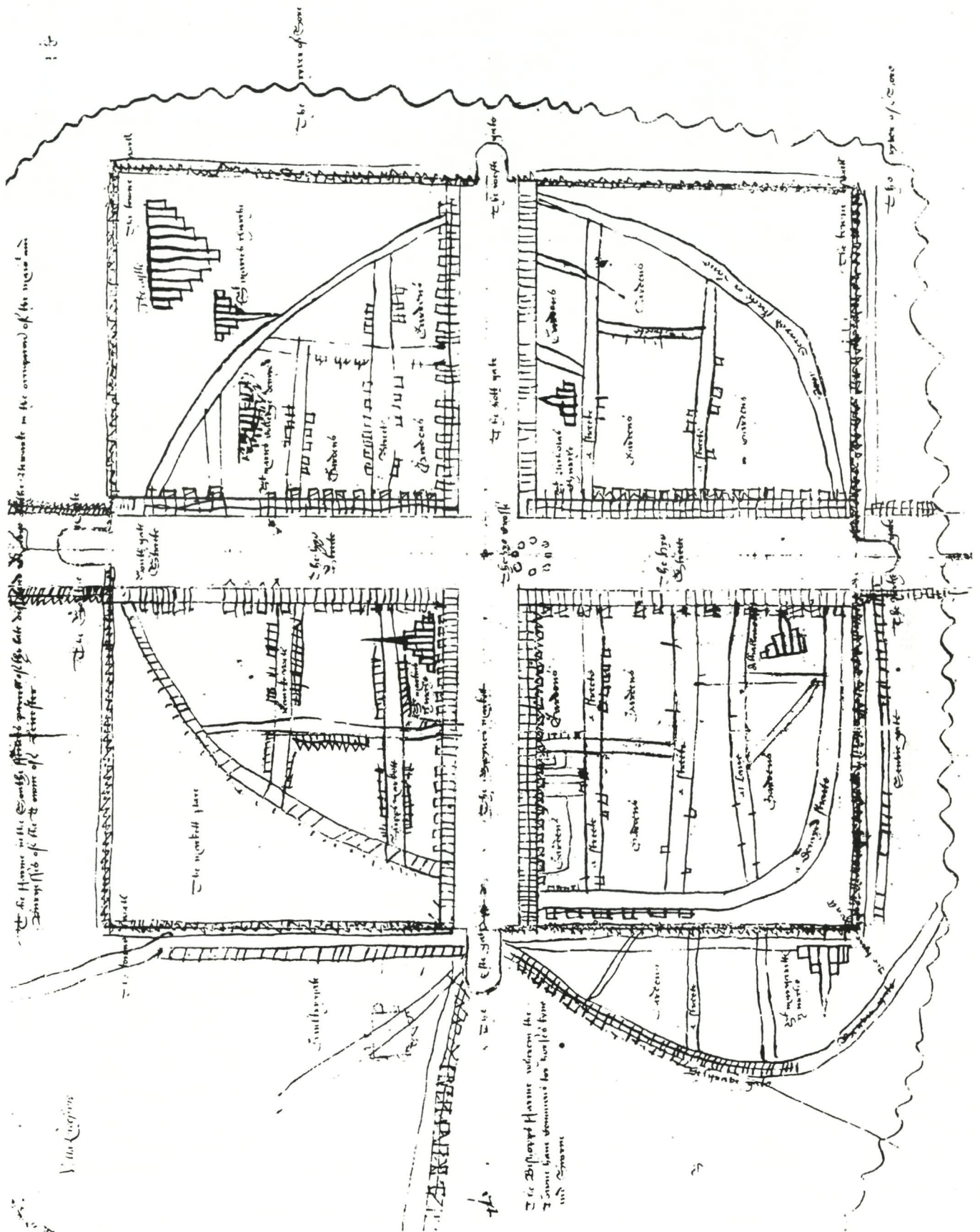


Fig. 2. - *Leicester map of c. 1600 (LRO BR/II/18/1).*

(*RBL*, ii, 103). However, the use of the singular 'High Street' by the inquest suggests that gafolpence were only collected from the north-south axial road. Certainly the incidence of gafolpence appears to have

become fossilised elsewhere, for example, at Cambridge, where it remained unchanged from at least 1086, and at Gloucester (Tait 1936, 91; Langton 1977, 268).

There is a little confirmation for the importance of the 'High street' in the archaeological record. A feature interpreted as the stoke-pit of a Saxo-Norman pottery kiln, probably of late 9th-10th century date, was excavated in 1964 on the edge of the street frontage just inside the south gate (Fig. 3f) (Hebditch 1967-8). It produced wheel-thrown reduced, sandy-ware akin to the Thetford products. Possible sherds from this kiln have been identified in Lincoln and Northampton (Gilmour 1988, 157; McCarthy 1979, 163-4; Gysperdt 1981, 118). A date-range within the late 9th to mid 10th centuries seems likely for the Leicester kiln by analogy with the locally-produced Northampton and Lincoln sandy wares. However, only seven sherds have been identified to date from other sites in Leicester, six of those from an almost adjacent site. Eighteen shell-tempered sherds of late 9th-early 11th century date of Lincoln origin have also recently been identified by Jane Young from two unpublished excavations of medieval tenements on the site of the Roman forum (D. Sawday, pers. comm.).

Mention should also be made of a rich group of Anglo-Scandinavian bonework found in Highcross St. (the northern end of the medieval High St.) in 1864 (Cottrill 1946 nos. 18 and 200-3). This collection includes a late 11th-century beast-head terminal and a late 10th/early 11th century strap-end (Backhouse *et al.* 1984, nos. 97 and 133). There was also a beast-head knife handle, a double-ended bone pin and another possible knife handle. These finds were found 7ft deep, somewhere in Highcross St. It looks highly likely that Saxo-Norman occupation levels were disturbed by cellar construction. In the same street a bronze pendant with openwork animal ornament of 10th/11th century date was found during the demolition of St. John's hospital (Fig. 2) in 1859 (Rutland 1975, no. 49b and Cottrill 1946, no. 199).

At the moment there is little pottery which can be assigned to the 11th century in Leicester other than a proportion of the small amounts of excavated Lincoln wares, Torksey/Thetford-type ware and Stamford ware (D. Sawday, pers. comm.). An 11th-century pit has been recently excavated on the Cameo Cinema site in the 'Swinesmarket' (Fig. 3e), though the site appeared to be in agricultural use in this period (Cooper 1993). It is possible that the usage of ceramics markedly increased in Leicester with the relatively late emergence of a local production centre at Potters Marston in the late 11th or early 12th centuries (Sawday 1991). Overall there does seem to be a concentration of late-Saxon or Viking archaeological finds on the medieval High St. Certainly the pattern of early development on axial streets within Roman defences followed by infilling is paralleled elsewhere, for example, Gloucester (Heighway 1984).

The lack of archaeological evidence can be explained by the massive impact of cellaring during the heyday of commercial prosperity in the 19th century. The deeply stratified nature of deposits in the central core of Leicester has also added to the problems of digging close to street frontages for safety reasons. Furthermore, research objectives of excavations, though less so in recent years, have often been geared to the Roman period.

It is also clear from comparison with other towns that Saxo-Norman houses are likely to built right up against the street frontages. Analysis by the author and Steve Clarke of late 11th and 12th century housing, excavated in Monnow St, Monmouth (which has escaped cellaring), suggests that virtually no trace of this period would be apparent only 10 metres back from the modern street frontage. By the 13th century larger houses were being built in Leicester, as elsewhere, running back from the street frontages. This may also be associated with fragmentation of earlier properties and appearance of continuously built frontages. Usually, it is only the rear of such buildings, the halls and kitchens, which have been recovered in excavations in Leicester. The shops on the street frontages have not been recovered. The lack of earlier structural evidence is therefore not surprising.

The extent of settlement in Leicester becomes clearer in the 12th century. Not only does there seem to be more pottery in circulation but pit digging is more widespread. This new pattern is thus partly a reflection of changing patterns of behaviour as much as expansion. Nevertheless, the evidence does suggest that the town was rapidly expanding in this period. Excavations in Sanvey Gate (Fig. 3g) outside the north gate and at several recent sites in the south suburb, notably Bonner's Lane, (Fig. 3d) suggest occupation for the first time in this period on a site relatively unaffected by cellaring (Finn 1993).

Church, castrum and suburb

The early ecclesiastical pattern in Leicester is also far from clear. The early 19th century historian John Nichols (1ii, 304- citing Carte MS) recorded that in the 12th century only two churches in Leicester had burial rights, St Mary de Castro and St Margaret's. His source has been lost but this pattern would coincide with what is known from other towns such as Chester (Thacker 1982). Certainly these were the two most important churches and between them their parishes included the three open fields of the town and nearly all the suburbs. St. Margaret's was associated with the manor of the bishop of Lincoln. St

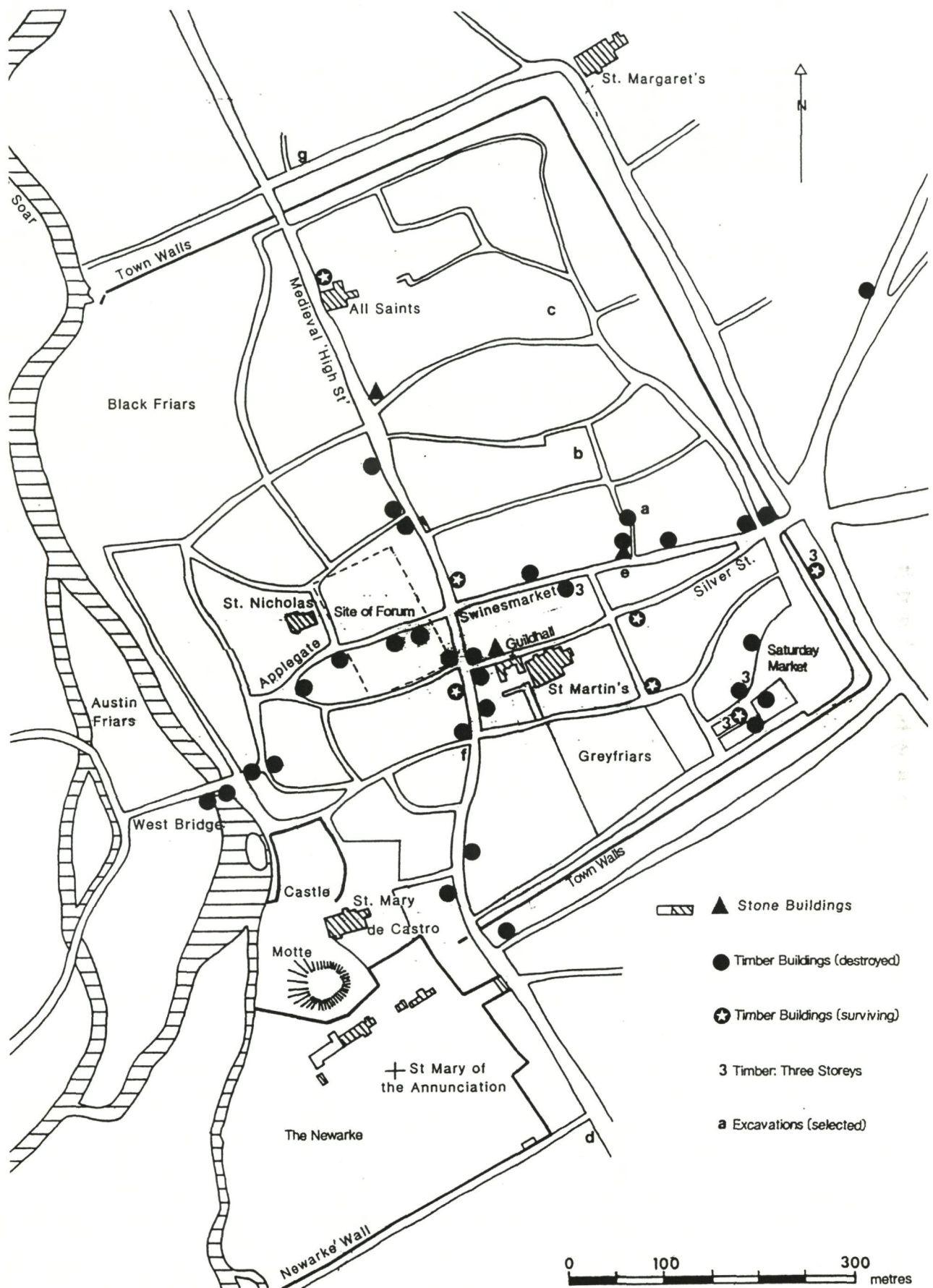


Fig. 3. - Timbered Buildings in Leicester.

Mary de Castro stood within the castle bailey. Documentary sources indicate that it was rebuilt (not founded as is often stated) in 1107 as a collegiate church (*CHK*, i, 62; *Mon. Ang.* 6i, 467).

Domesday Book records two major fees belonging to countess Judith and earl Hugh of Chester. These appear to represent the fragmentation of a late Saxon manor belonging to earl Waltheof which coincided with the parish of St. Mary de Castro (Cain 1990, 20-21). The association of late Saxon comital manors with boroughs is widespread in the Midlands and appears to represent a means of making provision for their defence (Roffe 1990, 26-27). The most likely location for the *aula* (hall) of the comital manor is next to the church. Indeed it is possible that the Norman castle was planted over the Saxon hall as a political statement. Excavation has indicated the presence of a late Saxon hall under the motte at Southampton and a palisaded enclosure, presumably around a hall, under Stamford's motte (Holdsworth 1984, 340-341; Mahany & Roffe 1982, 200-201). Such a progression would appear to have been normal across the Channel where it is less confused by political change, for instance, in Douai in NE France (Demolon *et al.* 1988, 63-64; Demolon & Louis 1994, 54-55) and at Ename and Gent in Belgium (Callebaut 1994). It may also be the case that St Mary de Castro was founded as a 'new minster' after the English reconquest in the 10th century when this comital estate was created, though there is no firm evidence.

Leicester had suburbs outside all its four gates. Early evidence from the eastern and southern suburbs suggest a strong rural character at least to begin with.

However, the east suburb, part of which lay in the bishop's liberty, became a dwelling area for the rich while the south suburb housed the poor. It was no coincidence that the south suburb was to be the only one to be demolished in 1645 by the Parliamentary defenders in order to shorten the town's overlong defences (Courtney 1992). Particularly intriguing is the northern suburb which still housed the noxious trades of dyeing and tanning in the 19th century as it had in the later medieval period. Unlike the other suburbs it was parochially divided, in a series of interlocking blocks between St. Leonard's (which had land on both sides of the river), St Margaret's and the intra-mural church of All Saints. This suggests that it was already fully developed by the 12th century and possibly earlier. The foundation charter of c.1133 of Leicester Abbey granted a carucate of land at the north bridge where the mint used to lie (Crouch 1987, 7-9). It is just possible the mint could have lain in a second *burh* as at Stamford (Mahany & Roffe 1982); but there is no other supporting evidence.

Certainly, archaeological evidence has emerged

for late Saxon/Viking extra-mural suburbs at Chester and Lincoln (Carrington 1995; CA 1992). A late Saxon northern suburb at Leicester is therefore a distinct possibility. A substantial portion of the measly collection of medieval deeds to survive in the borough archives also relates to this suburb, presumably reflecting the increased uncertainty of holding land in an area divided between the authorities of borough, abbot and bishop. The main street of the north suburb is increasingly derelict and will eventually be developed. If so its archaeology should be a priority. One might tentatively suggest that the division of at least some late-Saxon towns may have paralleled the Pirenne-derived model of *castrum*, *burgus* and *fau-bourg* suggested for many centres across the Channel, for instance, 11th century Lille (see Blieck & Guiffroy 1994, Fig.1). This can put alternatively as a division between the lordly space of the enclosed hall, the merchant's borough and the suburb with its wage labourers and industries. However, the functions of the borough and suburb are likely to have often overlapped, for instance, early markets may have been located outside the defences as at Stamford and Lübeck (Mahany & Roffe 1982; Fehring 1989).

Later Change

One major change in the social and economic topography of Leicester has been the eastward shift of its commercial heart. By the 16th century the term 'high street' was being applied to the former Swinesmarket. Today the main commercial frontages lie outside the former medieval walls in what was the eastern suburb. One major element in this shift may have been the creation of the Saturday market in the SE corner of the walls, first documented in 1298 (Courtney 1996). Archaeological evidence suggests this form of rectilinear regular market place was an innovation of the 12th and 13th centuries (Courtney 1994, 123-126; Verhaeghe 1994, 166-169). Indeed they can perhaps be regarded as emblems of the high medieval 'commercial revolution'. It should be noted that the NW corner of the walled town was filled in by the Blackfriars founded in the 13th century. The north-east quarter appears to have had some small nuclei of settlement but appears to have been mostly occupied by gardens, its two small impoverished churches and what evidence there is of housing appear to have disappeared by the 16th century.

The eastward shift can also be seen in the administrative landscape. The first two medieval guild-halls were both in the small parish of St. Nicholas. This church, dedicated to St. Augustine c.1220, is probably the strongest candidate as the site of the

mid-Saxon cathedral (*RBL*, i, 25; *CChR*, 3, 379). However, its survival of late Saxon windows stems from its high medieval and later poverty. Around 1400 a timbered building was erected on the west side of St. Martin's church for the Corpus Christi Guild. This body, including many of the urban elite, paid for masses to be said to speed its members through purgatory. St Martin's at the new commercial heart of Leicester was the richest church besides St Mary's and St Margaret's. In the 15th century the Corpus Christi Guildhall acquired a second function as the *de facto* townhall, which placed St Margaret's as the main centre for civic religious display. One reason for the geographical shift of the townhall may have been the attraction of St. Margaret's splendid architecture.

Leicester has few timbered buildings remaining. However, evidence for many more can be reconstructed from old prints and photographs (Courtney 1995). Fig. 3 shows the distribution of certain 15th-17th century timber buildings recorded in Leicester from archaeological and pictorial sources. The main feature to stand out is the predominance of the axial streets and the market area, with the exception of the north end of the town. This presumably reflects the high rateable value of these frontages and the predominance of substantial investment. The few three storey buildings are located in the 16th century High St. and the market place. The relative lack of buildings in the eastern suburb, reflects the high destruction as this area became the commercial heart of the city in the 19th century. The 1664 hearth tax, for example, shows that it had some of the largest mansions in the town. One feature to emerge is the importance of road to the western gate (Fig. 3: Applegate). This is hinted at by the medieval references to the four high streets and by a sketch map of c.1600 (fig 2). This map can perhaps be regarded as what geographer's term a mental map. This implies its usefulness for reflecting contemporary perception of the town rather than for its topographic accuracy.

Conclusion

The reconstruction, however tentative, of the political, social and economic structuring of space in towns is crucial to their understanding. Some aspects of such structures have barely changed in a millennium, others have been shattered. The construction of an inner ring road in 1960s Leicester destroyed the coherence of its medieval topography. As a result parts of the medieval High Street are today isolated pedestrianised backwaters. Archaeological, architectural and documentary sources all have to be treated

on their own merits. However, any suggestion that urban archaeologists can ignore the evidence of other sources constitutes the most perverse kind of anti-intellectualism.

Bibliography

- BACKHOUSE J., TURNER D.H. & WEBSTER L. 1984: *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, London.
- BLIECK G. & GUIFFRAY A. 1994: Genèse et évolution d'une place publique. L'exemple de Lille, in: Demolon *et al.* 1994, 207-224.
- BLUNT C.E., STEWART B.H.I.H & LYON C.S.S. 1989: *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, Oxford.
- BUCKLEY R. & LUCAS J. 1987: *Leicester Town Defences*, Leicester.
- CA 1992: Mapping the Saxon city, *Current Archaeology* 129 (May/June 1992), 385-388.
- CAIN T. 1990: Introduction, in: A. WILLIAMS & R.W. H. ERSKINE (eds.), *The Leicestershire Domesday*, London, 1-21.
- CARRINGTON P. 1995: Among the crumbling Roman ruins, *British Archaeol.* 7 (Sept 1995), 6.
- CChR: Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Public Record Office.
- CHK: Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, J.R. LUMBY (ed.), 2 vols., (Rolls Ser. 92), London, 1889.
- COOPER L. 1993: An evaluation and excavation at the Cameo Cinema, 40-50 High Street, Leicester, *Trans. Leics. Archeol. & Hist. Soc.* 67, 88-93.
- COURTNEY P. & Y. 1992: A siege examined: the Civil War archaeology of Leicester, *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 26, 47-89.
- COURTNEY P. 1994: *Medieval and Later Usk*, Cardiff.
- COURTNEY P. & Y. 1995: *The Changing Face of Leicester*, Stroud.
- COURTNEY P. 1996: The origins of Leicester's market place: an archaeological perspective, *Leics. Historian* 4iv, 5-15.
- COURTNEY P. forthcoming: The coins, in: R. BUCKLEY & J. LUCAS (eds.), *The Shires Excavations*, Leicester.
- CROUCH D. 1987: The foundation of Leicester Abbey, and other problems, *Midland History* 12, 2-13.
- DEMOLON P., GALINIÉ H. & VERHAEGHE F. (eds.) 1994: *Archéologie des Villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe- XIIIe siècle)*, Douai.
- DEMOLON P., LOUIS E. & ROPITAL J-F. 1988: *Mottes et Maisons-Fortes en Ostravent Médiéval*, *Archaeologia Duacensis* 1, Douai.
- DEMOLON P. & LOUIS E. 1994: Naissance d'une cité flamande. L'exemple de Douai, in: Demolon *et al.* 1994, 47-60.

- FEHRING G.P. 1989: Archaeological evidence from Lübeck for changing material culture and socio-economic change from the 13th to the 16th century, *Medieval Archaeology* 33, 60-81.
- FINN N. 1993: An archaeological evaluation at 71-95, Sanvey Gate, Leicester, *Trans. Leics. Archeol. & Hist. Soc.* 67, 93-95.
- FINN N. 1994: Bonner's Lane, Leicester, *Trans. Leics. Archeol. & Hist. Soc.* 68, 165-170.
- GILMOUR L.A. 1988: *Early Medieval Pottery from Flaxengate, Lincoln*, London.
- GRYSPEERDT M. 1985: The Pottery (pp. 108-118), in: J. WILLIAMS & M. SHAW, Excavations in Chalk Lane, Northampton, 1975-1978, *Northamptonshire Archaeol.* 16, 87-135.
- HASLAM J. (ed.) 1984: *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, Chichester.
- HEBDITCH M. 1967-8: A Saxo-Norman pottery kiln discovered in Southgate Street, Leicester, 1964, *Trans. Leics. Archeol. & Hist. Soc.* 67, 4-9.
- HEIGHWAY C. 1984: Saxon Gloucester, in: Haslam 1984, 359-383.
- HOLDSWORTH P. 1984: Saxon Southampton, in: Haslam 1984, 331-344.
- LANGTON J. 1977: Late Medieval Gloucester; some data from a rental of 1455, *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geographers*, (n.s. ii) 3, 259-277.
- LRO: Leicestershire Records Office.
- MAHANY C. & ROFFE D.R. 1982: Stamford: the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian borough, in: R. ALLEN-BROWN (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies V*, Woodbridge, 197-219.
- MCCARTHY M. 1979: The Pottery, in: J. WILLIAMS (ed.), *St. Peter's Street Northampton. Excavations 1973-1976*, Northampton, 151-240.
- Mon. Ang.: *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. CALEY, H. ELLIS & B. BANDINELL, 6 vols (in 8), London, 1817-30.
- NICHOLS J. 1815: *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 1 ii, Leicester.
- Ord. Vit.: *Orderic Vitalis: The Ecclesiastical History* 6, M. CHIBNALL (ed.), Oxford, 1978.
- RBL: *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, vol. i (1103-1327) and vol ii, (1327-1509), (ed.) M. Bateson, London, 1899 and 1901.
- ROFFE D.R. 1990: An introduction to the Nottinghamshire Domesday, in: A. WILLIAMS & G.H. MARTIN (eds.), *The Nottinghamshire Domesday*, London, 1-31.
- SAWDAY D. 1991: Potters Marston Ware, *Trans. Leics. Archeol. & Hist. Soc.* 65, 34-37.
- RUTLAND R.A.R. 1975: Gazetteer. Leicestershire other than Rutland, in: T.H. MCK. CLOUGH (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Leicestershire including Rutland*, Leicester, 40-76.
- STENTON F.M. 1920: *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, London.
- TAIT J. 1936: *The Medieval English Borough: studies on its origins and constitutional history*, Manchester.
- THACKER A.T. 1982: Chester and Gloucester: early ecclesiastical organisation in two Mercian burhs, *Northern History* 18, 199-211.
- VERHAEGHE F. 1994: L'espace civil et la ville. Rapport introductif, in: Demelon *et al.* 1994, 145-190.

Paul Courtney
Consultant Archaeologist and Historian
20 Lytton Rd.
Clarendon Park
Leicester LE2 1WJ
UK